The Development of a Metatheoretical Model of Psychological Profiling.

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CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

Although it is not a recent phenomenon, profiling has become a more popular investigative tool in recent years. In particular three main approaches have been developed, namely those of the FBI, Investigative Psychology and the smaller area of Clinical consultancy. Despite the relative benefits of each of these approaches, there has been no effort made, to date, to nullify their segregation and develop an integrative framework of the profiling process. In this thesis a comprehensive review of the profiling literature is presented as background and in preparation for a metatheoretical model of psychological profiling. The model's development, structure and evaluation are presented before conclusions are made about the model and profiling area in general.

PREFACE

Psychological profiling has been the buzzword on many people's lips lately, and over the last five years we, in New Zealand, have been inundated with various portrayals of profiling in the media. Perhaps one of the first that most people remember and refer to, was the portrayal of agent Clarice Starling of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the movie *The Silence of the Lambs*. Soon after this, the movie *Copycat*, starring Sigourney Weaver, again had people riveted as she stalked through the minds of serial killers while being stalked herself. It is not just the big screen which has been a stage for profiling, several television series have eventuated over the years, including *Halifax FP* starring our own Rebecca Gibney, the British series *Cracker* and two of the latest to hit night time television are special agent Sam Waters in *Profiler*, and Frank Black in *Millennium*. Despite the very gruesome nature of some of the crimes committed by today's rapists and murderers, the very influx of films and television series into our lives leads me to assume that I am not the only one who is intrigued by the very nature of the criminal and his crime[1].

One could easily assume, from the recent media influx, that profiling is only a recent phenomenon, and hence that is why it has received so much popular attention. However, profiling in its modern form has been around (though developing) since the early 1970's (Copson, Badcock, Boon & Britton, 1997), and long before that, fictional characters in history were using profiling techniques to investigate crimes and their criminals. For example, Agatha Christie's Hercule Periot and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes dazzled and amazed readers with their ability to describe and illustrate the identity of a criminal who is unknown to them (McCann, 1992). Profilers who are prominent in the modern day, include John Douglas, Roy Hazelwood and Robert Ressler of the FBI, David Canter and Paul Britton of the United Kingdom and New Zealand's Ian Miller. John Douglas has recently become recognised in the public eye as a profiler following the publishing of two personal biography's on his experience with criminal profiling: *Mindhunter* (Douglas & Olshaker, 1996), and its sequel, *Journey into Darkness* (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997). Indeed, there have been numerous books published over the

[1] The masculine identity is used in this thesis because the majority of sexual and homicidal crimes are committed by males. It is not intended to be sexist or detract from profiles pertaining to female offenders.

last decade detailing the exploits of a profiler (Canter, 1994; Britton, 1997; Keppel & Birnes, 1997; Wilson & Seaman, 1997). However, these books, although available from your local bookstore, have done little to explain how a profiler actually comes up with a profile of an offender. Like the movies and television shows that have frequented our lives, reading some of the books on profiling can still leave the reader with the question, "Yes, but how"?

The present thesis is presented in two parts and aims to go some way toward answering this question. The purposes of Part One of this thesis is to provide details on what profiling is, the functions that it has and the process involved in producing a profile. Part One contains six chapters detailing a literary portrayal of the past and present state of profiling. Chapter one outlines a basic introduction to profiling, including its core definitions, its history and the assumptions and principles that underlie it. It is intended as a background into what profiling is and what it aims to achieve. The second chapter looks more closely at the first of two main approaches to profiling, that of the Federal Bureau of investigation, while chapter three focuses on profiling approaches in the United Kingdom. The fourth chapter of part one outlines the role of classification in the forensic arena and how it relates to profiling. The role of victims and victimology in profiling are covered in the chapter five, specifically looking at how information about the victim can help know more about the offender.

Part two of this thesis combines the essential aspects highlighted in part one, in developing a metatheoretical hybrid model of psychological profiling. In particular, part two explains the model and its components in conjunction with examples of theories and assumptions about offender characteristics. Furthermore, the second section of the thesis, aims to offer some non-empirical validation of the model and address it's potential usefulness of profiling process. Finally conclusions are drawn on the model and profiling in general with respect to a look towards the future.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILING

> *"Offender profiling is the stuff of which myths are made. Like any myth, it has its roots in distant and much-elaborated memories which over time have spawned a vast array of tales, beliefs and diviners. Much of this folklore needs to be taken on faith, but when the myth is challenged, scientifically orientated believers set off in pursuit of evidence, be this a search for Mount Ararat to find the Ark, an archaeological dig to uncover Troy, or a demonstration of cases where profiling has led to the arrest of an offender" (Grubin, 1995, p. 259).*

Defining Psychological Profiling and it's Function

Psychological profiling, is known by a variety of nomenclatures, including, *criminal profiling* (Douglas, Ressler, Burgess & Hartman, 1986; Kocsis & Davies, 1997), *criminal personality profiling* (McCann, 1992; Pinizzotto, 1984), *offender profiling* (Canter, 1995; Stevens 1997), *investigative profiling* (Annon, 1995; Lee & Alison, 1997), *specific profile analysis* (Davies, 1997), *criminal investigative analysis* (Grubin, 1995; Rayment, 1995), and *specific case analysis* (Aitken, et al., 1996)[2]. Following from the vast number of terms used, it is perhaps not surprising that ithas also been difficult to find a universally accepted definition, and description of what profiling is.

In the past for example, profiling has been described as a biographical description of the offender (Ainsworth, 1995), a collection of leads (Rossi, 1982), an educated attempt to provide specific information (Geberth, 1981) and a sketch of trends and tendencies (Vorpagel, 1982). It has also been described as being "little better than information one could get from the neighbourhood bartender..." and that "profiles are too vague and ambiguous or else they are simple common sense" (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988, p.85). Part of the problem in finding an acceptable definition is in the orientation of the individual making the interpretation. While psychologists tend to emphasise the scientific realm, police members and FBI agents are more prone to substitute science for experience.

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[2] Part one of this thesis uses these terms interchangeably, depending on who has presented research. However, in part two where the model is presented, "psychological profiling" is the preferred term since it places greater emphasis on the process of profiling and principles that underlie it as opposed to the offender.

However, despite the lack of a universally accepted definition, from those that are available there are essentially two main defining features. The first is that profiling uses (and indeed relies on) details about the offence (eg., crime scene information, police reports and victimology) and the second is that these details are used to predict the most probable characteristics of the offender (eg., personality traits, possible residential location and motivation to offend). Hence, a good working definition of profiling could be to describe it as an attempt to use psychological theory and experience to draw inferences on the relationship between offender behaviour and offence dynamics to provide insight into the most probable characteristics of that offender.

In addition to predicting offender characteristics, profiling has been reported to have a range of other functions, including helping to establish whether an offence is part of a series, effectively managing investigative resources and narrowing down lists of suspects (Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Police Requirements Support Unit, 1991; Stevens, 1997). It has also been reported to be helpful in assessing any items found in the possession of a suspect (examples often include pornography or trophies taken from the victim) and has even been used to obtain search warrants (Douglas & Olshaker, 1996). In addition to the profile itself being used in the investigation, the *profiler* also has the opportunity to offer direct input by advising on interviewing techniques for suspects, and on how to use media interest in the case, to the best advantage of the investigation (Jackson, van den Eshof & de Kleuver, 1997).

Brief History in the Development of Profiling

The origins of psychological profiling are uncertain and fraught with speculation. However, there are reports of a procedure similar to profiling being used as early as the 1800's in the domain of criminal anthropology (Blau, 1994). One of the first recorded cases of non-criminal profiling occurred in the late 1930's, when Woodrow Wilson, the 20th president of the United States of America, was the subject of a psychological profile developed by Freud (1939, cited in Turco, 1990). Another example is that of William Langer, a psychiatrist during the second World War, who was employed by the Office of Strategic Services to develop a profile on the personality of Adolf Hitler (Pinizzotto, 1984). While the work by Langer was not published until 1979 (cited by Turco, 1990), it was apparent that he had been successful in predicting Hitler's death as a suicide.

Perhaps the case most recognised for being the beginning of 'modern' psychological profiling in the criminal domain, was that of the 'Mad Bomber'. During the 1950's New York City was in a state of fear as an individual known as the 'Mad Bomber' detonated 32 bombs over an eight-year period. The New York police and fire investigators were faced with the difficulty of identifying the individual or individuals responsible, but they were lacking substantive leads. Dr. James Brussel, a New York psychiatrist, obliged the police by completing a personality profile, aimed at identifying the characteristics of the type of person who would be most likely to have performed the bombings.

Dr. Brussel outlined a profile of the individual as being an Eastern European between 40 and 50 years old; living with his sister or aunt in Connecticut. The 'Mad Bomber' was said to probably have had a bad relationship with his father, though he loved and got along well with his mother. He was described as having a 'paranoid personality', paying great attention to detail and when he was apprehended by the police it was predicted that he would be wearing a double breasted suit with all of the buttons done up (Brussel, 1968, cited in Pinizzotto, 1984). Indeed, when George Metesky, was arrested and charged for the bombings, he was of Slavic origin, single, in his early 50's and living with his two sisters in Connecticut. To the surprise of the police he was also wearing a double-breasted suit, with almost all of the buttons done up (Pinizzotto, 1984).

James Brussel reportedly reached the conclusions in his profile by examining the evidence of the crimes against his professional psychiatric knowledge (Boon & Davies, 1997). Specifically, he believed that a bomber would have a paranoid personality, which tends to reach its peak at about age 40 (thus the age range). At the time, bombs were a form of protest in Middle European centres, and most Middle Europeans were Catholic and were concentrated in the Connecticut and West Chester County areas of New York (hence the choice of ethnicity, religion and location). Furthermore, Middle European individuals have strong family ties (assumption that he would be residing with family)., and, because the bombings were meticulously planned and executed, Brussels concluded that the individual would be neat and well presented, thus the double-breasted suit.

Despite the rosy picture that is presented in the 'Mad Bomber' case, profiling is not always so accurate. An example can be illustrated using the case of the 'Boston Strangler' who was instilling fear throughout Boston in the 1960s as 12 women were strangled by an unknown prowler. Dr Brussel was again called on for his services in developing a profile along with other psychiatrists and psychologists. It was thought that

there was more than one individual (though Dr Brussel maintained that there was only one) involved in the killings who was thought to live alone. They believed that the offenders were probably school teachers, and it was also thought that at least one of the men was homosexual. Dr Brussel also thought that the individual was either Italian or Spanish. When Albert De Salvo was arrested for the murders, he was a married man with two children, whom he lived with, he was not homosexual and he worked as a construction worker. Thus, the offender presented as quite different from the actual profile that had been developed.

The occurrence of inaccurate profiles is serious, since they can mislead an investigation, falsely identify individuals and exclude real suspects. The evaluation of a profiles success however, is a difficult task and one must consider what constitutes a failure as fair as a profile is concerned. For instance, does failure mean that one (or more) of the characteristics outlined is inaccurate, or is a profile inaccurate if it does not result in an arrest or conviction? These questions remain unanswered in the literature, and any evaluations of profiling in the past have usually examined inter-rater reliability as an indication of whether a profile is accurate or not (Ressler et. al., 1985). Unfortunately inter-rater reliability only indicates whether profiler's agree, not that whether the profile in question is valid or accurate, or if it is useful in an investigation.

Over the years, since it first came to be used more regularly in criminal investigations, profiling has developed into a popular investigation tool. It has been used by investigators in the FBI and by consultants to the police in the United Kingdom, increasingly over the last decade. The United States and Britain are two of the major forerunners in the use of modern profiling techniques. Hence, it is not surprising that research and approaches to profiling have mainly been conducted by people prominent in these countries. However, other countries all around the world have incorporated the use of profiling in their investigative process. Those that have moved into the forefront include: Australia, Ireland, Malaysia, Netherlands, Russia and Zimbabwe (Boon & Davies, 1997; Jackson, van den Eshof & de Kluever, 1997).

In addition to spreading across the continent, profiling has expanded in the number of crimes in which it is being applied. Below is a list of those that appear to be the most prominent, behind sexual assaults and homicide[3].

[3] This thesis mainly focuses on information pertaining to rape and sexual homicide, since these are the two areas that have received the most research and academic focus.

1. Distinguishing between the motivations of arsonists (Rider, 1980a, 1980b).
2. Identifying the most likely characteristics of child molesters (Groth, Hobson & Gray, 1982; Simon, Sales, Kaszniak & Kahn, 1992; Kirby, 1994) and considering the implications of profiling child sexual abusers (Murphy & Peters, 1992; Peters & Murphy, 1992) in the legal and psychological domains.
3. Determining the extent of and type of person involved in child homicide cases, particularly neonaticide and filicide (Logan, 1995)[4].
4. Understanding the differences between female and male murderers (Hickey, 1986).
5. Family homicides and the factors and indicators that most likely to lead to family murders (Hagaman, Wells, Blau & Wells, 1987).
6. Profiling gerontophiliacs (sex offenders of the elderly) (Ball, 1998).
7. Identifying the profile characteristics of bombers (Douglas & Olshaker, 1996).
8. Investigating characteristics of burglars (Farrington & Lambert, 1994)

While the above list may give the impression that there all crimes are profilable, it is generally assumed that some lend them selves better to profiling techniques than others. This issue is explored in greater detail in the next section on profiling assumptions.

Assumptions of Profiling

As stated in the previous section, it is generally considered that there are some crimes that lend themselves to the possibility of profiling better than others. Porter (1983) states that profiling can be used in only a narrow range of crimes, mainly those in which there is some evidence of psychopathology. According to Porter, "deviant crimes lend themselves much more readily to the technique than do the mundane varieties" (p. 45). In agreement with this, Geberth (1981) states that crimes which are the most appropriate for profiling are those in which the perpetrator has exhibited any of the following: sadistic torture; post-mortem mutilations and/or explorations; slashing; evisceration[5]; motiveless fire settings and ritualistic crimes. Teten (1989) provides a list of a broader range of profilable crimes and includes in it all crimes of forcible rape, sexual molestation, indecent exposure, sexual homicide and family homicide. More recently, MacKay (1994)

[4] Neonaticide is the murder of children less than one day old, while filicide is the murder of children who are greater than a day old usually committed by parent or caregiver (Lester, 1973).
[5] Removing the internal organs from the abdomen; disembowelment (Geberth, 1996)

has suggested that cases involving stalking or product tampering are also profilable, but neither has received much attention in the literature. In understanding what makes some crimes more profilable than others it is necessary to address some of the assumptions that underlie the practice of profiling.

One reason that profiling is better used in the above crimes and not those such as a 'simple' burglary, assault or robbery, is that the above crimes are assumed to contain an expression of the individual's character, personality or fantasy. Thus, one of the main principles underlying profiling is that every individual has a personality, which is exhibited in the way we act, and portray or express ourselves. Just as an individual wears clothes and associates with people which represent who they are, it is assumed that the behaviour and personality of a criminal are reflected in the crime scene (Ault & Reese, 1980; Canter, 1994; Geberth, 1981). Furthermore, Ault and Reese (1980), describe a crime, particularly a 'bizarre' crime (eg., sexual murders and mutilations), as being a 'symptom' of personality similar to other behaviours or acting out.

A second assumption of profiling is that the offender operates with consistency across crimes and situations (Canter, 1995; Holmes & Holmes, 1996). This has been termed the 'offender consistency' hypothesis by Canter and can be further examined in terms of the *modus operandi* and *signature* aspects of an offender.

Modus operandi (also referred to by the acronym MO) refers to the 'method of operation' which the killer, rapist or attacker employs. Essentially it is the actions that the offender takes to complete the offence. An example of an MO can be seen in the infamous case of 'Jack the Ripper' who always attacked from behind, and would then slash the throat of his victim, from left to right. Another example is in the case of David Berkowitz, the 'Son of Sam' killer who used the same .44 calibre Bulldog revolver to kill his victims, shooting them at point blank range each time.

From the above examples, one could conclude that the MO is fixed and constant across crime scenes, and although it may be, this is not always the case. Generally speaking, the offender will only continue to use the same MO if it is successful. If, for example, after the initial crime, they decide that the way in which they committed the crime was flawed or did not work for some reason, then the offender may change their approach in any area of the crime to ensure their success in the future.

Thus, an individual's MO is not always static, but is instead often malleable and dynamic, subject to change as the offender continuously evolves and learns from

experience (Douglas & Munn, 1992; Keppel, 1995). There was no need for 'Jack the Ripper' to change his MO, since he was able to complete his crimes successfully. However, in the "Son of Sam" case, Berkowitz is reported to have run off frightened after his first attack because his victim screamed and bleed, two things that he had not anticipated (Klauser, 1981, cited in Gresswell & Hollin, 1994). It was after this first attack that Berkowitz began using a gun to kill his victims.

In addition to the victim's reaction, there are several other aspects, which may influence a change in an offender's MO. For instance, individuals who are incarcerated are often faced with the opportunity to learn more 'instrumental' methods for being able to commit their next crime (Douglas & Munn, 1992). Furthermore, the actual crime itself may develop so that the offender may have to spend more time with the victim, or may need to transport them from one location to another. If either of these changes do happen, the offender needs to find new ways to control and move the victim or their body, thus their MO would also reflect such a change.

To further illustrate the changing MO of an offender in a series of crimes, the case of George W. Russell, can be used as an example (Keppel & Birnes, 1997). In a period of sixty-seven days, from June to September in 1990, the small towns of Bellevue and Kirkland in King County, Washington were faced with three separate, atypical murders (homicides involving features that go beyond the killing of the victim) within a five-mile radius of each other. All three victims were left unconcealed and posed in sexually degrading positions (eg., spread eagled). Although, absent in the case of his first victim, Russell used foreign objects inserted into his victim's sexual orifices[6] in both his second and third murders, thus his MO had evolved. In addition, the amount of mutilation on each victim increased from the first murder to the second and again in the third. Russell changed his MO again, when he moved from being an outdoor attacker in the case of his first victim, to attacking women indoors, presumably because he was able to exert more control over his victim (Kepple & Birnes, 1997). It was hypothesised that Russell was spending a larger proportion of time with his victims after death, as indicated by the care he took in posing the bodies and the increase in post-mortem mutilation.

[6] Mostly recognised as being the vagina and/or anus, but may include the mouth if the object has a phallic representation. Some offenders may also insert objects into wounds, such as a bottle inserted in the abdomen following evisceration.

As can be seen from the case example of Russell above, a killer's method of operation can change from one murder to the next, as he gains more experience and becomes familiar with what works for them and what doesn't. Whenever a killer, such as Russell, goes beyond the murder, and proceeds into acts such as mutilation, posing, biting and torture these can be considered to be the offender's *signature* and should be examined as an indication of consistencies between each offence (ie in linking offences to one offender). In the case described above it was the consistencies of posing and sexual assault that helped to link the offences to the one offender (Keppel & Birnes, 1997).

Unlike the MO, which may change from crime scene to crime scene, the 'signature', 'personation' or "calling card" of the offender is more consistent across attacks. Signatures can be defined as those aspects in a crime that go beyond what is necessary for the commission of that offence (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess & Ressler, 1997). For example, in a homicide it may be the mutilation or posing of a victim (aspects not necessary to kill someone) and in a rape case it may be indicated by the insertion of foreign objects, or sadism. Thus, signatures are most likely to be present in crimes which are of a sadistic or extremely violent nature. In general, signatures may include acts, which are ritualistic, domineering, or involve mutilation, overkill, trophy taking, penetration with foreign objects, cannibalism (antropophagy), torture or piquerism[7].

While it may appear from the account given above, that some form of sadism is necessary for a signature to exist, this is not the case. Although sadistic or sexual homicides are more likely to feature signature elements, criminals committing other crimes such as rape and murder may also exhibit signatures. For example, Albert De Salvo, the 'Boston Strangler', used to leave his victims lying naked, with a bow tied around their necks (usually from an article of clothing, for example a pair of pantyhose or a bra, found in the victim's home). Furthermore, it is not just the elements at the scene that depict an offender's signature (Taylor, 1993), as what an offender says during the offence can indicate the presence of certain phrases or a certain way of interacting with the victim (e.g., loud, degrading, swearing, intimate, conversational or reassuring).

While it is true that signatures (unless they are subtle) are usually detectable across a series of offences, other forms will be noticeable in a single offence. One form of signature which is worthy of note is that of *undoing* which is the process whereby the

[7] Piquerism is the sexual satisfaction, arousal or pleasure gained from stabbing cutting or slicing someone (Keppel & Birnes, 1997).

offender attempts to "undo" the offence. For example, a murderer may clean the body in an attempt to remove forensic evidence or go so far as to remove body parts to delay the identification of the victim (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997).

Another concept, similar to that of undoing is *staging*. Essentially, staging refers to the situation when an individual intentionally alters the appearance of a crime scene in some way after the crime has been committed (predominately in homicide cases). Douglas and Munn (1992) presented two primary reasons as to why an individual may stage or alter the scene of a crime. One reported motivation for staging, may be for the perpetrator to try and re-direct the probable path of the impending investigation away from himself. Examples can be seen in the case of Dr, Jeffery MacDonald who killed his family and tried to make it look like an offender had broken in (Lane & Gregg, 1997), or Gordon Wordell, who staged the murder of his wife so that it would appear to be an abduction and robbery (Britton, 1997).

Staging may also occur by someone other than the offender, perhaps by a member of the victim's family who may want to protect the victim or members of their family. This is most likely to be the case in situations of rape-murder, where the victim's body is often left in a degrading position. Often staging in these cases is done by covering the body or repositioning it, particularly in cases when victims are left naked and spread-eagled in their posture. In cases of auto-erotic fatalities, staging may involve changing the clothes of a cross-dresser, or writing a suicide note.

While Douglas and Munn (1992) accept that a family member or someone discovering the body may stage the crime scene, Geberth (1996) disagrees and believes staging can only be completed by the offender. To clarify, he reports three primary staging situations. The first is altering a murder scene to make it look like a suicide (eg., placing a gun in the hands of the victim) and the second is attempting to make a homicide appear as though it was a sex-related crime (eg., disrobing the victim). And, the third example of staging given by Geberth, is when the offender sets fire to the scene either to give the appearance that the victim died accidentally, or to destroy evidence.

Whatever the reason for staging, it can hinder a police investigation, as it results in an altered crime scene which detracts from how the crime (or suicide) was actually committed. Investigators at a crime scene should aim to detect the presence of several important behavioural 'clues' or 'red flags' which may be indicative of a staged crime scene (Douglas et al., 1997; Douglas & Munn, 1992). However, although these red flags

are considered to indicate inconsistencies in an offence they may only become apparent after close scrutiny of the crime scene and surviving victims. Douglas et al., (1997) outline some examples and indicators of staging. The first type of red flag is where forensic evidence or police reports indicate that the injuries sustained by a victim do not appear to match their description of the event. An example of this may occur where evidence indicates that an individual sustained injuries from front on, when they claim to have been attacked from behind or where claims of a sexual assault are made but no evidence is apparent to support the assertion. A second type of red flag may occur in cases where the motive appears to be burglary, but the offender did not take any items from the scene, or only chose items that they could not sell or remove easily. This type of red flag most often features in cases of domestic homicide, where the 'victim' may try and convince police that someone broke into the house and attacked the occupants. Suspicions may also be raised about inconsistencies in cases where the victims are reporting that the effects of their injuries are far greater than would be expected from the actual injuries that they sustained. There may also be instances where the offender has arranged for someone else discover the body even if they are the most likely person to do so (eg., a husband killing his wife and then arranging for the babysitter to find her), or that someone is with them when the body is found.

All of the above concepts, method of operation, signature and staging, help the profiler to discern certain characteristics about the offender. In particular, the MO can indicate how well organised the offender was (e.g., whether they planned the crime or not) and how consistent they are across a series of crimes. An analysis of any signature aspects of a crime can provide insight into what the primary motivation of the offence was, since it is generally assumed that if someone goes beyond the actual rape or murder of an individual, this has implications for knowing more about the type of person that they are. And, knowing whether a crime scene has been staged or not, provides knowledge about the actual crime that occurred.

Summary

The first chapter has presented the terms and definitions of profiling and outlined the function that it has in an investigation. In addition a brief history to the development of profile was presented and the assumptions that underlie its use were discussed. In particular the core assumptions were as follows. The first assumption is that everybody's

personality is expressed in the things that they say and do, therefore an offender's personality is represented in their offence. A second assumption follows closely from the first and states that there is consistency between how an offender expresses themselves in their offence and how they are in everyday life. And the third core assumption of profiling, is that an offender will act in a similar fashion across offences. In particular, several key concepts were outlined including modus operandi, signature and staging. Essentially this first chapter has provided background information on the profiling area as a whole, and set the stage for chapters two and three which outline specific approaches to the profiling process.

CHAPTER TWO
THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION APPROACH TO PROFILING

" If you want to understand Picasso, you have to study his art. If you want to understand the criminal personality, you have to study his crime"
(Douglas & Olshaker, 1997, p. 338)

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The majority of advancements in the field of criminal profiling, in the United States, have been undertaken at the Behavioural Sciences Unit in Quantico, Virginia where work formally began in the early 1970s (Police Requirements Support Unit, 1991). It is at Quantico where FBI agents are trained in aspects of the behavioural sciences, and in particular they are taught to understand why offenders think and act as they do (Douglas & Olshaker, 1996).

Given that the objective of the criminal profile is to aid in the investigation and eventual apprehension of a perpetrator, the actual process of profile development and the inclusion of offender details are important aspects to consider. The FBI agents at Quantico have, over the past twenty years, produced a number of papers and books, which detail both the process of profile generation and the general components (or sub-categories) of a profile (Ault & Reese, 1980; Douglas, et al., 1986; McCann, 1992; Vorpagel, 1982)[8].

Generating a Profile

There are many features of an offence that need to be considered when a profile is being developed. Essentially, the more information and details that are available to the profiler, the more likely it is that they can produce an accurate profile, which in turn, benefits the law enforcement officers working on a particular case. Generally speaking the process of profiling in the FBI is described as being both involved and complex (Blau, 1994; Ressler et al., 1985). According to Douglas and Olshaker (1997) there are seven key steps to developing a criminal profile.

1. Evaluate the offence
2. Evaluate the specifics of the crime scene(s)
3. Victim(s) analysis

4. Examination of the preliminary police reports
5. Examine medical autopsy report
6. Profile development
7. Make suggestions to guide the investigation, based on the characteristics in the profile.

However, despite offering this list of profiling steps, the authors fail to outline what each of the steps mean or what information is required to complete each one. Fortunately, other authors have depicted the profiling process in greater detail (Ault & Reese, 1980; Blau, 1994; Douglas, et al., 1986; McCann, 1992; Pinizzotto, 1984; Vorpagel, 1982). Essentially, the details in the following sections are derived from combining the information in these resources.

Gathering Information, Identifying Intent, Classifying the offender and Producing the profile.

Gathering information

The first part of the profiling process involves gathering information about the offence to increase understanding and knowledge about the offence and the offender. Information can come from a variety of sources, but most often it is derived from within a number of specific areas, especially those thought to hold some reflection of the offender. Common sources include complete photographs of crime scene, detailing the victim's body and/or their wounds, and the position the body was left in. Also photographs of the surrounding area of where the body was found or where the offence occurred, and any weapons, footprints, tyre tracks or markers left at the scene(s) should also be included.

Beyond the immediate offence related scene(s), information about the surrounding neighbourhood, including racial, ethnic and social demographics, should be collected and examined. Information should also be collected from reports written on the offence. The most common reports are those of the medical examiner (forensics report) and the police report. For instance, the forensics report can contain a variety of vital offence and offender information including, the use of toxins in the victim, the presence of pre and

[8] A large majority of the information written by FBI agents and American profilers has already been presented or is presented in Part two of this thesis.

post-mortem wounds, the presence of semen and extent of damage to the body, the most likely weapons that were used, serology, ballistics, fingerprint analyses, conclusions on the cause of death, and the suspected sequence of wounds. While information contained in the forensics report is of a scientific nature, a complete police investigation report contains broader details about the offence. Some information included in a police report may be the date, time and location of offence; the possible sequence of events (e.g., meeting victim through to rape of murder), witness statements, neighbourhood characteristics (e.g., known crime areas), an offence reconstruction and details about the possibility of there being different offence locations. In addition to the official forensics and police reports, the profiler should try and gather information about the victim[9] including, details about their occupation and residence, known friends and enemies, their personality style and characteristics and any recent changes in their lifestyle. All of the information gathered from the above sources is then used in the second part of the profiling process, which is to make a series of decisions about what sort of crime has been committed.

Identifying Intent/Motivation

Primarily, what is required at this stage, is to determine what the offender's intent or motivation was. According to Douglas et al., (1986) there are three main primary types intent that, for example, a murderer may have, (1) criminal enterprise, (2) emotional, selfish or cause-specific or (3) sexual.

An offender operating with the primary intent of criminal enterprise, has money as their main motive, where the classic example is of an individual who takes the life of another so that they can claim life insurance on the victim. The second type of intent encompasses three main motives, emotional (eg., compassion or euthanasia), selfish (eg., jealousy) and cause-specific such as in the case of a murder in self defence. Also included under this heading are family disputes or violence (eg., sexual abuse) which may lead to infanticide, matricide, patricide, spouse or sibling killings. This second type of intent also encompasses those crimes which involve groups, like fanatical organisations such as Ku Klux Klan, religious groups (Reverend Jim Jones of Jonestown) or cults such as that of the infamous Charles Manson.

[9] Refer to Chapter five for more information on Victims.

The third type of intent is deemed to be sexual intent. There are several reported features which may indicate sexual motivation in a crime including acts such as: the removal of the victims clothes; exposure of genitals or breasts; evidence of sexual activity in, on or near the body (e.g., semen); piquerism, sexual positioning of body; and anal or vaginal penetration by penis or objects (Geberth, 1996). Furthermore, mutilation, dismemberment, evisceration or torture are also said to indicate a sexual crime, and activities that occur pre-mortem are often thought of as indicators of sadism. Although it is difficult to identify how many features are required to indicate a sexual crime, a non-sexual crime would contain none of the aforementioned factors. Ressler et al. (1985) also refer to the possibility of not a knowing whether a homicide is sexual or non-sexual, particularly in those circumstances when the body is badly the decomposed.

In addition to determining the type of crime involved, judgements are also made to determine the degree of victim and offender risk. For example a prostitute is considered to be of high risk status since they are often in situations in which they are vulnerable (e.g., walking dark streets at night, and they project an image that they are available for sex). Risk factors are often determined by the victim's age (ie., very young or old), physical stature, occupation, location and lifestyle (eg., socialising a lot at night-time or walking home by themselves at night), and are thought to help indicate the type of victim the perpetrator may have been seeking or targeting.

As for victims, risk is determined for the perpetrator, especially in regard to risks taken in when and where the crime was committed. Particular attention is paid to factors such as the location of the crime, the time of day it was committed and the length of time the offender remained with the victim. For example, an offender who abducts a victim in a quiet neighbourhood at night-time takes comparatively lower risks than an offender that attacks their victims at noon on a busy street. It is sometimes recommended at this stage to complete a reconstruction of the crime so as to be able to develop an understanding of the offence from both the offender and victim's point of view.

Classifying the offender

The third stage of the profiling process involves classifying the offender based on the information about the crime scene, the victim and the risks that the offender took. There are two main classifications used by the FBI at this stage, which primarily require the profiler to distinguish whether the offence is characteristic of an "organised" or

"disorganised" offender. The issue of organisation in the crime is particularly important as it is often linked to the way the offender approached his victim and what, if anything was done to the victims body, both during and after the initial attack. Ressler, et al., (1985), detail the main differences between an organised and disorganised offender in relation to the commission of a sexual homicide (refer to Table 1).

Table 1. Crime scene characteristics representative of organised and disorganised offenders.

Organised	***Disorganised***
Planning in offence	Spontaneous or impulsive offence
Targets an unknown victim (stranger)	Victim/location known to the offender
Personalises victim	Depersonalises victim
Controlled conversation	Minimal conversation
Crime scene reflects overall control	Crime scene random and sloppy
Demands submissive behaviour in victim	Sudden violence to victim
Aggressive acts prior to death	Sexual acts after death
Restraints used	Minimal restraints
Weapon/evidence absent	Evidence/weapon often present
More likely to transport victim or make an effort to hide the body.	Body left after death, may be positioned.

(Adapted from Ressler et al., 1985).

In general, organised offenders are more likely to take care to plan the crime, use restraints, perform sexual assaults on the victim when they are alive, try to overtly control the victim and use a car or mode of transport to get to and from the crime scene. In contrast, disorganised offenders are more impulsive, tend to leave their weapons at the scene, often position the body, sexually assault victim after they are dead, and may try to depersonalise victim (e.g., covering the face). So, on the face of these descriptions and the characteristics depicted in Table 1, there do appear to be differences between organised and disorganised offenders (Douglas et al., 1997). While there has been some research conducted on the formation of the organised/disorganised dichotomy within the FBI, the generalisability of these constructs is not well researched.

Much the same as organised and disorganised offenders, Vorpagel (1982), makes the distinction between *altered* and *unaltered* crime scenes (in reference to sexual killers). Like the description given above by Ressler et al., (1985), Vorpagel (1983) interprets

altered crime scenes to be ones which have been committed by an organised offender, who takes the time to conceal elements of the crime so as to try and avoid detection. The crime scene of an organised offender appears as though there is a methodical and deliberate aspect to it, where the body and other evidence is often disposed of or concealed away from the crime scene. On the other hand, an unaltered crime scene is more likely to be committed by an individual (disorganised) who has made no or very little attempt to conceal or disguise aspects of the crime. The scene itself appears to be confused and in disarray, and there is no attempt to conceal the body (although according to Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman & D'Agostino, 1986, the body may be kept by the offender).

Another aspect of deciding whether an offender is deemed to be organised or disorganised, is determining how the offender chose to approach his victim. Two main attack methods used in sexual assaults and homicides are the "con" attack and the "blitz" attack (Vorpagel, 1982). In the former method the offender makes some initial contact with the victim, perhaps by getting them to help him, such as the victim helping him carry something to his car. Often the offender would have stalked or pre-selected the victim, and may have gone so far as to establish a pseudo-relationship (maybe chatting to her in a bar or at the local dairy) with her so that any approach made to the victim was less suspicious.

While the "con" attack is most often committed by the organised offender, the second type of attack, the "blitz" attack, is more likely to feature in a crime which has been committed by a disorganised offender. Blitz attacks are designed to take the victim by surprise and commonly feature as an attack from behind, with the offender using physical strength to overpower the victim and gain control over them and the crime process. While both forms of attack ultimately aim to control the victim, the organised offender's approach is less pressured, hurried or impulsive than the offender who is more disorganised.

Following on from the underlying assumption that an offender reflects who they are in their crimes, determining whether the offender is 'organised' or 'disorganised' can lead to assumptions about the type of people they are in their everyday life. According to Ressler et al., (1985), there are identifiable features of both the organised and disorganised offender, which are basically the opposite of each other (refer to Table 2).

Table 2. Offender characteristics representative of an organised and disorganised offender.

Organised	*Disorganised*
Average to above average intelligence	Below average intelligence
Socially competent	Socially inadequate
Skilled work preferred	Unskilled work
Sexually competent	Sexually incompetent
High birth order status	Low birth order status
Father's work stable	Father's work unstable
Inconsistent childhood discipline	Harsh discipline as a child
Controlled mood during crime	Anxious mood during crime
Use of alcohol with crime	Minimal use of alcohol
Precipitating situational stress	Minimal situation stress
Living with partner	Living alone
Mobility with car in good condition	Lives/works near crime scene
Follows crime in news media	Minimal interest in news media
May change jobs or leave town	Significant behaviour change (substance use, or move to religion)

(Adapted from Ressler et al., 1985)

From Table 2 above, it is obvious that the traits and characteristics depicted for each type of offender are opposites. For example they are at different extremes on continuums such as intelligence, sociability, substance use, anxiety and others. Despite the characteristics representing points on a continuum, the actual classifications of organised and disorganised offenders, form a basic dichotomy. However, it should be pointed out at this stage, that the FBI do have an option for a 'mixed' classification, to avoid a straight dichotomy (Ressler et al., 1985; Douglas, et al., 1997). These authors state that a 'mixed' crime scene is one that reflects both aspects of an organised and disorganised offender, though they do not elaborate on the features of this classification.

Producing a Profile

All of the information gathered from the first three phases of the FBI profiling process, are then collated to produce a "criminal profile". Exactly how this is done is not usually explained in the literature, but where the FBI are concerned it is reported to be guided by both field and academic experience (Canter, 1994; Britton, 1997). What is known however, is that the classification of the offender usually plays an important role in deciding on the characteristics of the offender.

The actual contents of the profile depend on the individual studying the information and making the decisions. Researchers in this area have listed a variety of information areas, or components, which are often included in psychological profiles (Ault & Reese, 1980; Dougals et al., 1986; Geberth, 1981; McCann, 1992; Pinozzotto, 1984; Vorpagel, 1982). The standard profile would be expected to include most, if not all, of the following components which attempt to describe characteristics of the most probable offender:

1. Demographic information including an age range, their race, marital status, occupational skills, socio-economic status.
2. Physical characteristics (e.g., height, weight).
3. Estimates of educational attainment and level of intellectual functioning.
4. Family background characteristics, and structure (may also include information about relationships with family members).
5. Habits, hobbies and social interests.
6. Degree of sexual maturity.
7. Possible legal and arrest history.
8. Location of residence in reference to crime scene.
9. Whether the perpetrator lives alone or with others.
10. Whether they own a vehicle, and if so its probable colour, age and make.
11. Personality characteristics, including the likelihood of any medical or psychiatric diagnoses.
12. Suggested techniques for interviewing the offender.

In addition to these more standard details, the profiler, may include details pertaining to the perpetrators pre and post-offence behaviour and the predicted likelihood of them re-offending (Ressler, et al., 1986). For example, the profile may include information pertaining to whether the offender is likely to revisit the crime scene (or the victim's grave), or perhaps if they are likely to become involved in the investigation, or whether they are the type of individual who would keep records or souvenirs of their offending.

The basic approach of the FBI could be conceptualised as being a 'top-down' processing approach, whereby intuition, investigative experience, and some statistical findings are all used to produce a profile (Boon & Davies, 1993; Stevens, 1997). In particular, statistical probabilities play an important role in the development of FBI

profiles. Indeed, the majority of their research has been focused towards obtaining data for computer programs such as the Violent Criminal Apprehension Programme (VICAP). VICAP is a large computer database which holds the details of offences and their offenders (Boon & Davies, 1997), and whenever a new case emerges the details can be entered into the system to check for any similarities with past or present cases (e.g. similarities in Modus Operandi or signature).

Research on the effectiveness of FBI profiling

Despite the statistical and database focus of the FBI, they have conducted some studies to assess the effectiveness of their profiling process. In 1981 the FBI conducted a study to determine the usefulness of a total of 192 profiles that the FBI had completed (results presented in Pinizzotto, 1984). Of the 192 cases, the suspect was identified in 88 (46%) of them, and of these 88 cases, 77% of the profiles were said to have helped the investigation by focusing it more. In 17% of cases, profiles were reported to have been of no assistance. Despite the findings of the 1981 study, some FBI agents have been reported to claim that the FBI's profile success rate is greater than 80% (Hazelwood, 1983, cited in Pinizzotto, 1984), though there was no published research to support this assertion.

Further research by the FBI was conducted in 1985, (Ressler et al., 1985) to attempt to address the issue of the inter-rater reliability of classifying crime scenes (i.e., organised, disorganised, mixed or unknown). In this study, six FBI agents, of varying degrees of experience with profiling, were presented with 64 sexual murder scenes. The study reports that there was an 81.4% inter-rater agreement on the descriptions of the crime scene typologies. Given that these were all trained profiling 'experts', one has to ask if 81% accuracy is adequate, especially given that so many of the assumptions in a FBI profile stem from the crime scene classification. The authors did not explore this issue, nor did they attempt to offer any explanation as to why differences in classification may have occurred.

In order to examine the issue of 'expertise' in profiling, Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990), conducted a study with 28 participants, compiled into groups of professional profilers, police detectives with some experience in profiling and those without, clinical psychologists and college undergraduates. Participants were required to write a profile for each of two cases, one being a homicide and the other a sex offence. The results of

the study indicated that professional profilers were significantly more accurate than non-profilers (e.g., police detectives with and without experience in profiling) on the sex offence case. However, this difference dissipated in the results of profile accuracy on the homicide case, where detectives were more accurate. Hence, the results of this study appear to suggest that while profilers are more accurate than non-experienced or lay individuals, they are not necessarily more accurate than police detectives, at least not in regard to homicide inquiries.

While the FBI do have some evidence of research being conducted on their profiling methods, very little independent research has been completed in the area. Indeed, some authors are still concerned as to whether profiling actually works and whether it is possible to evaluate it at all (Oleson, 1996). Even Douglas has stated that what profilers do "is far from an exact science" (Douglas & Olshaker, 1996), which makes an effective evaluation problematic.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the profiling approach of the FBI and it's agents at Quantico, Virginia. Their approach and methods can be summarised as being heuristically based with a heavy reliance on the use of statistics, the behavioural sciences and computer databases. Essentially, there are two main features of the FBI Approach. The first of these is that they place an emphasis on the use of data for the development of their profiles, and the second is that the assumptions they make about the offender, usually follow directly from classifying them as either organised or disorganised.

Criticism's against FBI profiling have usually related to profiling in general (eg., does it work and are they accurate), however there have been comments made specifically against the FBI approach. In particular, because of the use of statistics and probabilities, they tend to focus less on the individual in the case, and more on the *type* of case that it is (organised versus disorganised) and what can be inferred from case classification (Copson et al., 1997).

Due to its increase in popularity, both by professionals and television characters, it is true that the FBI have been the main force behind the progress in profiling. But, in regard to its scientific advancement, America has had very little input, particularly in the form of independent research, which become the responsibility of other countries such as the Netherlands (Jackson, van den Eshof & de Kluever, 1997) and England (e.g., Canter

and Heritage, 1989). In spite of criticism against FBI profiling, their databases, resources and training facilities continue to grow and expand. And, their profiling approach continues to form the basis for most throughout the western world, even those in Britain. It may well be that for a country the size of the America, statistical probabilities are an appropriate basis for profiling. Whether this is the case for the rest of the world remains to be seen.

CHAPTER THREE

PROFILING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

"Investigative Psychology is not about an individual genius acting on a hunch – what I call a 'hit-and-run expert'. It's the scientific study of criminal behaviour that is relevant to police investigations. It is one element in the investigative process and it requires psychologists and police to work together" (Quote from Professor Canter, Casey, 1994, p.23)

While the development of profiling in the United States has largely been completed by the FBI, research and profile development in Britain is largely divided amongst university institutions and private persons who work as consultants to the police force. While the purpose and main features of profiling in the United Kingdom do not differ very much from the FBI approach, research in Britain has emphasised the residential location of offenders, resulting in a new area, namely that of geographical profiling. Although research into the residential location offenders has been completed in other countries, this topic is presented in the United Kingdom chapter for two main reasons. Firstly, the majority of research has developed from work by Canter and his colleagues, (Canter, 1994; Canter & Gregory, 1994; Canter & Larkin, 1993) and secondly, it aids conciseness to include the relevant research under on heading. Hence this chapter aims to outline the work of British profilers and details of what "geographical profiling" is and how it fits into the profiling process.

Profiling in Britain

The actual profiles that eventuate in Britain do not appear to be very different from those in the United States, and they contain much of the same components. The Police Requirements Support Unit (1991) outline those aspects of a profile thought to feature most often in British profiles (though this may differ slightly depending on individual profilers). There were described as being:

1. Physical characteristics
2. Probable criminal history
3. Probable domestic and social circumstances
4. Probable occupational circumstances
5. Significant offender bases, or probable address
6. Transportation methods

7. Personality characteristics
8. Whether and where he may potentially re-offend
9. What, if any, unsolved offences he/she may have committed
10. Whether the offender is likely to have acted alone or with a partner.

Although there are some differences between the components above and those of the FBI (for example the addition of whether the offender acted alone and linking to unsolved cases), the majority of the information is comparable. Furthermore, the profiling process also appears to be similar to that of the FBI. In particular, information from the crime scene(s), victimology and other sources of information play an intricate role in profile development.

Essentially, there are two main approaches to profiling in the United Kingdom, namely *investigative psychology* (Canter 1995; Canter, 1996; Canter & Heritage, 1989) and *clinical consultancy* (e.g., Britton, 1997; Badcock, 1997)[10].

Canter's first official involvement in offender profiling was in 1987, when he was invited to assist the police in identifying the offender in the "Railway Murders". While this case is often cited as the beginning of profiling in the United Kingdom, a year earlier, in 1986, Britton had assisted in the investigation and arrest of Paul Bostock who was convicted on two counts of murder (Britton, 1997). Despite his involvement in this case and his continued involvement to date, Britton is not as well known as Canter is, perhaps because he publishes less papers and avoids the media limelight.

Profiling is no stranger to public rivalry, and the example of Britton and Canter is no exception. Canter, in particular has been reported to have made some quite scathing comments with regard to Britton's involvement in profiling and police cases and is quoted as saying "The only reason he's (referring to Britton) described as an expert is that the police have brought him into a number of high-profile inquiries and credited him with their success" (Wilson & Soothill, 1996, p. 13). Canter's main criticism of Britton appears to be that he considers his methods to be based on opinion and on the whole, unscientific (Casey, 1994). However, Britton states that he relies both on his clinical experience and also theory and research findings when constructing a psychological profile (Britton, 1997). Essentially, the use of theory and research are features of the

[10] The approaches of the clinical profilers is not presented in this section due to a lack of published literature. However, clinical principles form the basis of the model in part two.

clinical consultancy approach to profiling, where each case is treated individually, with an emphasis placed on the internal motivations of the offender.

A good example of the type of research conducted in Britain is that of Canter and Heritage (1989). Their research was conducted, to determine whether there is a pattern to offence features present in a stranger-rape crime (so that assumptions could be formed based on the details of a rape case). After studying the cases of 27 stranger rapists (66 assaults in total), Canter and Heritage (1989) identified 5 separate dimensions of interaction between the offender and the victim, namely: sexuality, violence and aggression, impersonal sexual gratification, interpersonal intimacy, and criminality[11]. Using statistical analyses (smallest space analysis'), and the 33 variables involved in the crimes, the authors found that variables tended to cluster together, thus indicating which would be more central to the particular type of rape offence (see Figure 1).

In particular, five aspects of stranger sexual assault commonly occurred together, namely those closer to centre than the periphery (2, 8, 11, 13 and 27 in Figure 1 below). Thus the most common features of a stranger rape, as determined by this study, were the presence of a surprise attack (#2), a lack of reaction to the victims resistance (#8), the use of impersonal language (#11), disruption of the victims clothing (#13) and achieved or attempted vaginal penetration (#27). While these five features are the most common aspects of stranger rape, this study also suggests that there are certain aspects of a stranger rape that do not commonly co-occur (e.g., demeaning and insulting language is a feature of aggression and violence, but not of interpersonal intimacy). The model also indicates that there is a close proximal relationship between sexuality and violence, supporting the assertion that many rapes have a strong violence component (Canter & Heritage, 1989). Furthermore the boundary between criminality and interpersonal intimacy highlights an offender who is attempting to form an inappropriate (i.e., criminal) relationship with the victim (Canter & Heritage, 1989).

The importance of this research is that it emphasises that there is often a pattern within an offence, in this case it is common actions or sequences in a stranger rape, but it may vary for different crimes. Research such as the example given above can help to highlight differences and similarities between crimes and across offences. Importantly,

[11] These clusters may represent the motivation of the offender to rape (eg., anger, intimacy, sexual pleasure etc.).

such research is perhaps one of the biggest moves that has been made towards validating some of the assumptions made in criminal profiling.

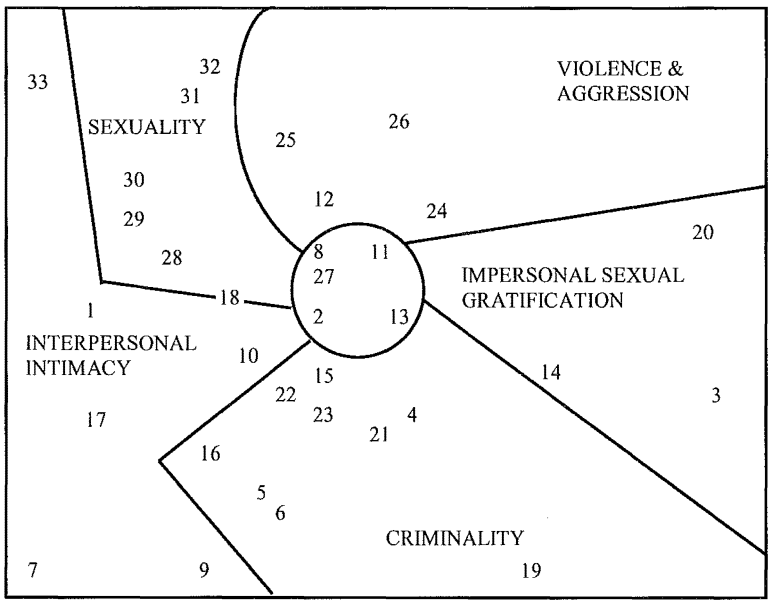

Figure 1. Clustering of rape characteristics (Canter & Heritage, 1989) (see Appendix A for variable labels).

Geographical profiling

The main premise behind geographical profiling is that the place in which an offender resides ('home base') has an influence on where they commit their crimes. To fully understand geographical profiling it is necessary to address the assumptions and principles that underlie it, before looking at research conducted in the area.

Assumptions of Geographical Profiling

The first assumption is that the offender has a permanent place from which they base themselves (Godwin & Canter, 1997), and it is usually assumed to this is their home. The second assumption is based on the "nearness principle", which suggests that with all things being equal, an individual selects the option that requires the least effort. Thus, when faced with a variety of possible destinations, each offering the chance to complete his criminal activity, the offender will choose the one that is closest, because it represents the least effort. However it is not just proximity or distance that the offender needs to consider. Other factors that might influence his choice of offence destination are safety (can change over time), risk of being recognised, victim availability, transportation

routes, the attractiveness of available routes, the actual geographical distance, physical barriers and familiarity with the area.

All of the aforementioned influences are considered in the third geographical principle, 'mental maps', which have also been referred to as 'behavioural activity zone' (Geberth, 1996). In essence this principle assumes that all individuals form a cognitive image of the areas that they are most familiar wit, usually the neighbourhood or suburb in which they live and/or work. The formation of mental maps is not just influenced by the actual physical environment, but also factors such as culture, religion, political issues and distinctions of social class. Furthermore, the time of day may influence the way an offender views their mental map (e.g., availability of victims).

Lynch (1960, cited in Rossmo, 1996) outlines five core elements that are likely to have primary inclusion in a mental map. Lynch includes common fairways such as *pathways, roads and highways,* and physical boundaries or edges such as *rivers or railways*, which tend to act as borders around their mental map. Other areas represented in an individual's mental map would be *districts* (suburbs classified by region, financial status, culture or ethnicity), *nodes* (activity centres like bus or railway stations, major intersections, shopping centres) and prominent *landmarks* (symbols like churches, signs, prominent buildings or statues which are used for orientation). According to Britton, (1997) both adults and children have mental maps, however they use them differently. Adults tend to form mental representations of streets and roads, while a child's mental map is represented in the form of shortcuts, through fields, parks and over fences.

Considered together, these three principles assume that an offender has a permanent home base, that they are familiar with the area around their home and form cognitive images to represent it, and that they will commit the offences as close to their home base as possible while still feeling that it is safe to do so. Essentially, these principles (home base, nearness and mental maps) represent the basis of geographical profiling.

Models and Research into Geographical profiling

One of the most comprehensive models of spatial organisation and criminal target selection was developed by Brantingham and Brantingham (1981, cited in Brantingham & Brantingham, 1984). This model is complex and has a number of components, but will only be briefly described here, within the context of spatial relations and victim selection.

In essence, the model presents several concepts and propositions to explain the target selection process. Firstly, whatever the offender chooses to do, will occur within an awareness zone (constructed on the familiarity he has developed about an area through work, home and recreation) that they feel safe offending in. There will also be an area within the awareness zone where he will not offend, because the risks are too great (ie., of identification) or the targets are viewed as being less desirable (ie., specific type of victim in mind). This is identified by Brantingham and Brantingham as the 'buffer zone' (also known as the safety zone) and represents an area around the offender's residence (or any risk area).

Because of the relative restrictions that familiarity and safety pose, the offenders target selection area would be predicted to fall within the awareness zone but outside of the buffer zone (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1984). According to the model, the offender will consider the suitability of the victim, the risk involved and any target cues (visibility, symbolism, unusualness, likeness to 'template') to determine if they present a rational choice for a victim. However, what is also possible is that an offender has a particular type of victim in mind, such as prostitutes, which will influence where he is able to obtain potential victims. If the targeted victims are only available outside of his awareness zone, then he may choose to return into this zone (for familiarity and safety) when he has his victim, in order to proceed with his crime.

Along similar lines to the Brantingham and Brantingham model which represents two divisions of offender activity (awareness and buffer zone), Canter & Larkin (1993) present two models of offender movement. Both models are based on the Home Range hypotheses, which proposes that there will be some structure or pattern to crimes committed by one offender, and these will relate to the offenders place of residence or permanent base. Both models contain what is seen as being a *home range/domain* (area around the offenders home) and a *criminal range/domain* (area encompassing the crimes that are committed). They developed two hypothetical models, to illustrate the two different forms of offender movement (see figure 2).

The first model is that of the commuter model (see figure 2a). Canter and Larkin use this term to describe an individual who travels outside of his home base in order to commit his offences. The distance that they travel to offend, may be determined by the area in which they live (e.g., travelling to a more densely populated area), travel routes that they may take, or some other variable. However, whatever the reason, a central

component of this hypothesis is that the criminal domain will be separated from the home domain, but that there is no clear, overt relationship between the location or size of the criminal domain and its distance from home base (Canter & Larkin, 1993).

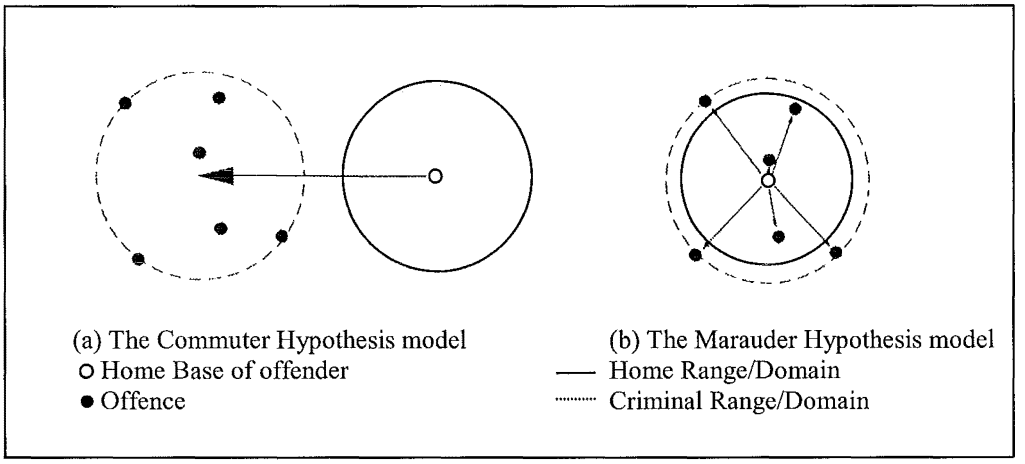

Figure 2. Two hypothetical models detailing offender residence in location to their offences (Adapted from Canter & Larkin, 1993).

According to Davies (1997), there are numerous explanations as to why some individuals may offend further from their residence than other individuals, such as having different locations for work, home, friends and family (spread anchor points) or a transient lifestyle; committing offences while on holiday, or travelling further so that they can select a certain type of victim (eg., prostitutes), or properties of a certain type. Another factor that would influence whether an offender travelled outside of their home base would be if they were forced to change from their normal victim trolling areas due to police activity or media focus, which increases the likelihood that they will be identified.

The second hypothetical model presented is that of the Marauder (see figure 2b), so named because they are said to commit their crimes within their home base. Thus unlike in the case of the commuter, the marauder's home base overlaps, and indeed encompasses, his criminal range.

To test their hypotheses Canter and Larkin, used a sample of 45 British serial sexual offenders (all offences were against women), and examined the offence locations and home bases for each offender. What they found was that of the 45 offenders, 39 (87%) committed their offences within the area surrounding their home base (thus

marauding rapists). However, the base was often not located in the centre of their criminal range. Furthermore, the average distance from an offence to the offenders home (buffer zone) was 1.53 miles (approximately 2.5 kilometres).

Overall then, the Marauder rapist was more common. Canter and Larkin (1993) describe the marauder rapist as being 'democentric', implying that they become focused on the environment in which they become familiar and feel comfortable in, and so complete their offences in that area.

Because circular patterns are drawn around the offence area, this practice has been dubbed the "circle hypothesis". Essentially, what happens is that a pin is placed on a map for each crime that is committed in an area (those thought to be committed by a single offender). These crimes are then encompassed in a circle which is drawn around the outside of the pins. It is hypothesised under the 'circle hypothesis' that the offender will live within the boundaries of the circle, most probably in the centre (although terrain or infrastructure may limit this possibility). Canter (1994) reports that as many as 80% of rapists are found to live within their offence circle and that 60% reside within the centre area of the circle.

To further explore the circle hypothesis, Godwin and Canter, (1997) conducted a study of 54 convicted American male serial killer's (540 victims). Their main interest was to determine whether the offender's home base was influential in where they abducted their victims and where they dumped their bodies. The findings indicated that as the number of murders increased, offenders dumped their victim's bodies further away from their home base. In contrast, the abduction contact with victim was usually found to be close to the offender's home. Thus, they appear to recognise the potential of their home base area for selecting victims, and move outside of this to dump the bodies, possibly as an attempt to draw attention away from them. However, although these findings are interesting, the practical utility of this research is limited. Working off body dumpsites to determine offender residence is a difficult process, since police may not know exactly how many victims have been murdered. Conversely, working off abduction sites alone, also proves difficult if you don't have a body and no means by which to link possible serial offences. However, Canter and Larkin's research does highlight that an offender utilises their environment depending on what needs they have to meet.

Considerations in Geographic profiling

The actual geographic profile development is an involved process, including, an inspection of the crime scene and photographs of the area, an analysis of the neighbourhood crime statistics and demographics and an examination of the streets, pathways, zoning and area maps (Holmes & Rossmo, 1996, cited in Rossmo, 1997). In addition, the location of roads and highways; bus, train and taxi stops; physical and psychological boundaries; the crime location, and offender pursuit style (how he selects and approaches his victims) are all important.

Essentially a geographic profile is a developed and through understanding of the probable residential or operating location of the offender. All of the above sources can provide valuable information in developing such an understanding, however in cases such as an abduction-rape or murder, there may be multiple crime scenes connected to a single offence, and thus the amount of information may be immense or fragmented. In a murder case for example, the encounter with the victim (possibly preceded by stalking), the attack, the actual murder and then dumping of the body would present a scenario of four, possibly five different crime sites. In other words, different stages of a crime may occur in different scenes or sites. Realistically however, although there may be multiple crime sites, it is often the case in homicides that the police are only aware of one - where the body was found, and possibly where the victim was last seen (Rossmo, 1997). Thus access to all relevant information is potentially problematic.

Although it is presented in terms of a typology, the Offender Hunting Patterns described by Rossmo (1997) are thought to be able to provide important information about the type of offender one could be dealing with (though little is known about their practical utility). According to Rossmo there are four primary search methods, the hunter, the poacher, the troller and the trapper. The *Hunter* is an individual who sets out with the intent to search for a victim. They search from their place of residence and usually select victims that are in their own town or city of residence (similar to the marauder and the disorganised offender who are hypothesised to stay close to their home). The *Poacher* is the same as the hunter, except that they specifically search from an activity site (other than their residence), such as a public bar or night-club. They often commute or travel to another city to search for a victim (similar to the commuter and the organised offender who are thought to be more likely to leave their home range).

The third type of victim hunting procedure is the *Troller* is an offenders who encounters their victim through opportunity. And, the fourth type of hunting pattern is that of the *Trapper*. The trapper is a term used to describe those individuals who gain employment in positions or occupations which enable them to have access to their potential victims (an example of this type of offender would be someone who takes in boarders with the intention of exploiting them, such as Fred and Rosemary West, or individuals who advertisements for models and then victimise them).

Summary

While the basic process and components of a psychological profile are similar in Britain as they are in the United States (and probably across the globe), British profilers place a greater emphasis on the distribution of offences and hypothesised residential location of the offender than do profilers at the FBI. Essentially, the main premise of investigative psychology and geographical profiling is that where an offender lives or works becomes influential in where they select their victims from. While this approach is deemed to be scientifically drive (ie., based on the research emphasis), the third major approach to profiling, clinical consultancy is said to be more idiographically orientated with an emphasis on theory and clinical experience (Wilson, Lincoln & Kocsis, 1997). While it is thought that the research into geographical profiling has moved profiling into the scientific realm, there is some doubt as to whether research such as this is useful beyond serial cases and whether it is applicable in other countries. In regard to the last question, New Zealand has employed Canter's circle theory in the case of the South Auckland serial rapist, Joseph Thompson. This case is outlined below as an example of the profiling process used by Canter.

New Zealand Profiling: The Case of Joseph Thompson

While profiling has not been used in New Zealand as long as it has in other countries, it has been reported that profiling techniques have been implemented in New Zealand for the past ten years (Miller, 1997). Despite this acclaimed history of use, there has been a paucity of published research on the topic as it pertains to New Zealand[12].

[12] Due to the limited availability of information on profiling in New Zealand, the information contained in this chapter is from the television feature "Out of the Dark" which screened on 20/20, on the channel, May 1996.

The first public introduction to profiling in New Zealand occurred in relation to 'Operation Park', the name given to an intense investigation into a number of rapes in the South Auckland area, between 1983 and 1995. By the time he was apprehended, Joseph Thompson had raped and often badly beaten 42 women and children in the areas of Otara, Manurewa and Paptoeotoe. Thompson was a night time prowler, often stalking his victims so that he could determine there living conditions, since he primarily attacked his victims at night, and in their own homes.

Due to the increase in the number of rape cases and the extreme nature of them, the inspectors and police in charge of 'Operation Park' were looking towards other means to apprehend the offender. They employed the use of Canter's (1994) book, *Criminal Shadows: Inside the Mind of a Serial Killer,* and used the geographical location system that Canter described to estimate the likely residential location of the offender. Before the investigative team was able to do this, it was necessary to determine whether there was any reason to believe that Canter's principles would be applicable in New Zealand. Hence, a small pilot study of 15 intruder (those that enter into the homes of their victims) rapists was conducted. The results are presented below in Table 3 along with the results of Canter's research in the United Kingdom.

Table 3. Comparison of Canter's findings to those of rapists in New Zealand.

Canter's Findings	**15 Intruder Rapists in New Zealand**
First conviction 15yrs	First conviction 15yrs
First rape conviction 25yrs	First rape conviction 25yrs
Originally a burglar	All had burglary convictions prior to rape
Offends near home	Rapes committed in environments familiar to them.

* Data obtained from 20/20 (Television New Zealand, May 1996)

Since the results presented in table 3 are comparable between New Zealand and Britain it was decided that the New Zealand rapists exhibited the same characteristics or 'profile' as those in Canter's sample, implying that Canter's principle of geographic location could be applied to the 'Operation Park' case.

By generating a computer map of all of the offences that had occurred since linked offences had begun, they were able to determine that over the decade of his offending the rapist had not offended in one particular area of South Auckland. Canter's predictions would be that there is some reason as to why the offender was not active in this particular

area. In particular, either they were living or working there or it contained something special to them (ie., they have relatives there). Based on this assumption and the information from the research in Table 3 above, Inspector Manning, who was in charge of the case developed a likely profile of the suspect (refer Table 4).

Table 4. Inspector John Manning's profile of the offender.

1. Convicted of House burglary prior to becoming a rapist (prior to 1988)	6. Arrested in Otara non-sexual offence 1988-1994.
2. 1988 & 1989 living in Otara	7. Boys home as a youth 12-17yrs
3. Dec 1991 living in Mt Albert	8. In Otara there was somewhere especially significant to him
4. 1993 living in Manurewa	9. Responsible for all 44 crimes
5. Likely to have been finger printed at some time in his career	10. As a child come to the attention of the Education Services

* Data obtained from 20/20 (Television New Zealand, May 1996)

Following this profile, seven priority listings were developed detailing the age range of the likely offender and their ethnicity. From descriptions of the victims, it was determined that the offender was either Maori, Samoan or from other Polynesian decent and that he was aged between 25-35 years of age. Research in the United States indicates that rapists are more likely to rape intra-racially rather than inter-racially (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1983), which was supported by the reports that the victims made.

The next process was to go through the suspect lists and find one who fitted the description of the priority description and the profile. Thompson was missed on the first occasion because he was 36 years of age not 35, but he was picked up on a second broader sweep. It was discovered that while Thompson fitted the profile on the majority of the ten points, there were two characteristics that he did not support. Namely he only admitted to 42 of the 44 crimes (#9) and there was no evidence of him being referred to education services as a child (#10).

While it appears that profiling, using Canter's approach to geographical mapping was deemed to be successful in this case, it is also important to note that operating a geographical mapping component of profiling implies that there are multiple offences, thus a serial offender is needed. If one tries to develop a geographical map of an offender who has committed only three or four crimes it becomes difficult to identify a safety zone

or indeed, a pattern to the offending. This may present a drawback in New Zealand, where we do not have a large number of serial offenders, committing a large number of offences.

Furthermore, there is some concern as to whether overseas research can be applied to New Zealand. The same concern was raised in Australia, and while research there (Kocsis & Irwin, 1997) and the small pilot study presented above, do indicate that Canter's 'circle theory' may be applicable here it is an area that still requires more research.

Considering profiling has been used in New Zealand for ten years already, one has to wonder when some serious research advances are going to be made. And, if research has been conducted already, then more published work needs to be made available. Fortunately, the forensics area in New Zealand has a more prominent history in the research domain, and it may well be the case that instead of validating research and methods from overseas, New Zealand academics will promote new fields of research.

CHAPTER FOUR
CLASSIFICATION

"I have no remorse. As to whether recollection of my deeds makes me ashamed, I will tell you. Thinking back to all the details is not at all unpleasant. I rather enjoy it"
(Peter Kürten, Crimes of Sadism, 1990, p. 526)

The issue of classification has been a regular topic of debate in the mental health area for a long period of time. Researchers in the past have explored issues surrounding the practicality and suitability of classification systems, and such systems have been criticised because they are unable to fully account for the complexity of human nature and 'apparent' phenomenon (Millon, 1991). Indeed, for a taxonomic system to be workable it is invariably necessary for it to contain some simple global constructs, which effectively resemble the larger phenomena it's intended to define. Unfortunately, the complex nature and heterogeneous representation of human behaviour and personality constructs, means that being able to successfully achieve this goal is problematic.

However, bearing these criticisms and restraints in mind there are also some merits in the use of classification systems. One of the most important reasons as to why classification systems are necessary is that they allow for a global recognition of disorders, phenomena or events so that professionals can have a common reference and common terminology (Clark, Watson & Reynolds, 1995). Hence classification systems can reduce the amount of confusion created by the diversity of terms available for the same behaviours, at least in theory (Millon, 1991).

Perhaps one of the most well known classification systems is the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (DSM-IV;* American Psychiatric Association, 1994). The DSM-IV, and its predecessors, are considered to be *categorical* in nature since an individual will either meet diagnosis or they will not (Clark, et al., 1995). An alternative to the categorical system is a *dimensional* system. A dimensional classification system assumes that the symptomatology of a 'disorder' or fall on a linear continuum representing graded severity. There are numerous reasons as to why this approach is favoured by many over the categorical system. One such reason is that a categorical system is unable to take into adequate consideration the heterogeneous representation of a number of disorders or the fact that many disorders represent co-morbidly with others (Clark, et al., 1995). However, while some people may prefer the

dimensional system it too has some disadvantages. Firstly there is no agreement on the optimal dimensions to be used (APA, 1994) and it is also the case that the term dimension is not used consistently so there is often uncertainty as to whether people are referring to the same thing (Clark, et al., 1995). Furthermore, Tellegen (1993) implies that the argument between a dimensional and categorical system is a false dichotomy, since a dimensional system would most likely be used to support or negate the presence of a given category.

The issue of classification and the role that it plays has expanded beyond the mental health area and has indeed become an intricate field in the forensics domain. One of the earliest classification systems presented on criminals was that of Cesare Lombroso, a famous Italian physician, whose early work in the 1870s resulted in the differentiation of five types of criminal (Goring, 1972), each one distinguished by psychological and physical characteristics, particularly facial features. Lombroso's five classes of criminal were what he considered to be the *born criminal,* the *insane criminal,* the *passionate criminal,* the *habitual criminal*, and the *occasional criminal.*

In 1913, however, Lombroso's typology of criminals was refuted by Charles Goring (cited in Goring, 1972). While Lombroso's theory had been tested within criminal populations and significant results were found, they soon disappeared when it was discovered, that member's of the general population also had very similar features as Lombroso's criminal's. Instead, Goring claimed that the aetiology of criminals was in their defective intelligence and so he developed a classification system based on this premise. However, as is often the case with many early theories, the defective intelligence stance was belied by research suggesting that many offenders are actually of normal or higher intelligence.

While an individual's physical features are no longer an 'acceptable' method of classifying criminals, there are still several options available. Common methods in the past and in many cases, today, have included typologies based on, personality (Eysenck, 1996); intelligence (Gebherd, Gagon, Pomeroy & Christenson, 1965); the offender's criminal career (Roebuck, 1967); alcoholism and substance use (Smith, 1922); social adaptation (Snell, Green & Wakefield, 1994) and mental illness (Luberto, Zavatti & Gualandri, 1997; MacCulloch, Bailey & Robinson, 1995). Perhaps one of the most recent developments is the publication of 'the crime classification manual' (Douglas et. al., 1997), which details the sub-categories of three main crime classifications: Homicide,

Arson and Sexual Crimes. In their book, Douglas et al., (1997) present the victim, the crime scene and the nature of the victim-offender exchange as being the core components in being able to classify a crime accurately. They list approximately 28 main classes of homicide, 33 for arson and a further 18 for rape and sexual assault.

It is quite obvious, from the list given above and the array of classes made available by Douglas et al., that over the last century there have been a range of offender classification systems developed. In relation to profiling however, the most prominent form of classification would be those based on the type of offence committed. Hence, those offenders that commit rape or murder are consequently labelled as a rapist or a murderer. However, classifications go one step beyond this and sub-classify offences. For example, in the case of rape identifiers such as 'statutory rape', 'stranger rape', 'date rape', 'marital rape' and 'acquaintance rape' have been used to distinguish between different types (Holmes & Holmes, 1996).

It is from these sub-classifications that research is conducted in order to try and identify specific features about the offender's involved. For instance, according to literature outlined in Holmes and Holmes (1996), there are some defining (or at least common factors) present in the offenders of stranger rape cases (the following is said to pertain to the majority of rapists studied in the United States). A stranger rapist is described by Holmes and Holmes as most probably being young (under the age of 30), of lower socio-economic background and a member of a minority ethnic group. Their victims are often of the same race as the perpetrator (although this feature is not supported by research in Britain, Canter, 1994) and they are reported to have a history of trouble with women both personally and sexually. Most stranger rapists are unarmed at the time of the offence (1 in 4 use a weapon - usually knife or sharp instrument), but they often devote some forethought and possibly planning prior to its implementation.

Perhaps one of the most developed and widely known typologies for rapists is that of Knight, Prentky and their colleagues (Knight, 1988; Knight & Prentky, 1987; Prentky, Burgess & Carter, 1986; Prentky, Cohen & Seghorn, 1985; Prentky, Knight & Rosenberg, 1988; Rosenberg, Knight, Prentky & Lee, 1988 and Prentky & Knight, 1991). Over the last decade, these authors have produced a number of articles outlining the development of a taxonomic system for rapists. Cohen, Seghorn & Calamas (1969, cited in Rosenberg et al., 1988) developed one of the earliest typologies for rapists, which consisted of four types.

Each of the four types was classified based on the role that aggression was deemed to have in the offence. The two main forms of aggression identified were described as being *instrumental* and *expressive*. Essentially, instrumental aggression is described as that which is intended to force the victim to comply to the offenders wishes and is thought to be used where the aim of the attack is primarily sexual (Prentky, et al., 1988). On the other hand, in the case of expressive aggression, the aim is considered to primarily be aggressive or violent. Thus, aggression towards the victim is intended to harm them either physically or psychologically, or both. From the distinction between instrumental and expressive aggression, the underlying motive and source of the aggression is inferred. From the distinction between types of aggression and different motives for the rape, Cohen et al., (1969, cited in Rosenberg et al., 1988) identified four types of rapist.

The first of the four rapist types was described as being a *compensatory type,* which was an individual who raped as a defence against their own feelings of inadequacy. Thus the act of rape is conceptualised as being a means by which to instil a feeling of competency and power. Aggression, when used by the compensatory rapist was merely to gain the compliance of the victim. A second type, the *Exploitative rapist* (also termed *impulsive* - Prentky, Cohen & Seghorn, 1985) were those who committed impulsive offences which were largely determined by opportunity, and like the compensatory rapist, used aggression to gain the compliance of the victim.

While both compensatory and exploitative rapists stem from the use of instrumental aggression, the third type, the *displaced anger type* developed from the use of expressive aggression. The displaced anger rapist was hypothesised to use aggression with the purpose of harming the victim, either physically or through humiliating or degrading them. Expressive aggression is also identified in the fourth type of rapist, the *sex-aggression-defusion type* (later recognised as *sadistic*), who was also considered to be very aggressive, but his sexual and aggressive feelings were interrelated.

While the classification system was thought to have merit, there were problems with the heterogeneity amongst the offenders. In order to try and refine the typologies, Prentky et. al., (1985), Prentky et al., (1988) and Rosenberg et al., (1988), decided to include an impulsivity stage in the decision process. Thus, the meaning of aggression, and the level of impulsivity characteristic of the individual were all considered in the decision to classify a rapist (see Figure 3).

Two of the major outcomes of this process were that some of the original labels changed and instead of four types, with the high/low impulsivity qualifiers, there were effectively, eight subtypes in their typology system. As can be seen in figure 3 below, the first step in the process is to determine the meaning of the aggression (instrumental vs. expressive), and then from that decision the meaning of sexuality could be ascribed (compensatory, exploitative, displaced anger or sadistic). The final step in the subtyping process is to determine whether the individuals appears to have low or high impulsiveness in their history and lifestyle.

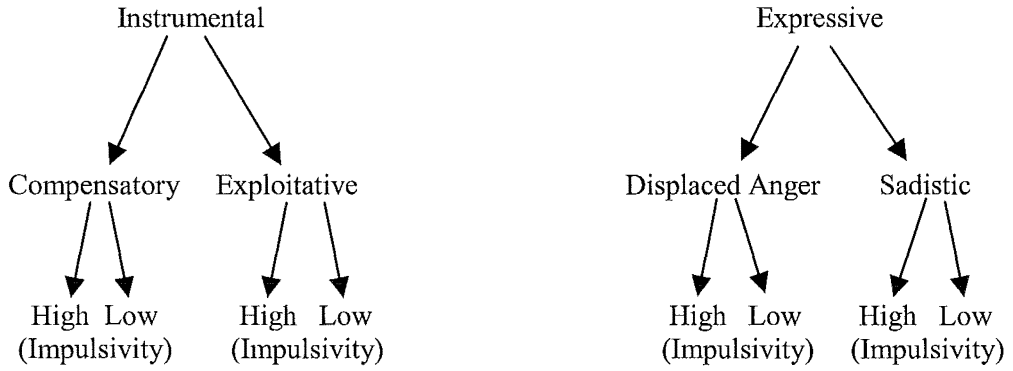

Figure 3. Decision making process for classifying rapists (Adapted from Prentky, Cohen & Seghorn, 1985).

According to Prentky, Knight, Lee and Cerce (1995), there are five defining characteristics of high impulsivity, in particular these are, an unstable employment history, reckless behaviour with no regard to possible consequences (particularly noticeable in driving behaviours), aggressive or destructive behaviour, disruptive behaviour in school and a history of fighting.

Prentky, Cohen & Seghorn (1985), wrote a detailed description for each of the eight subtypes, outlining their likely personalities, histories, habits and behaviours. Each of these subtypes is outlined below, with the summarised descriptions given in Prentky, Cohen et al., (1985) and Holmes and Holmes (1996) written for each[13].

[13] Holmes and Holmes (1997) base the characteristics of the types of rapists and elements of their crime scene on the four types available. They do not distinguish whether the individual is a high or low impulsivity type.

Compensatory/Power Reassurance Rape (Instrumental Aggression)

The common characteristics of the compensatory rapist (refer Table 5) are described as them being introverted, sexually inadequate, shy, inhibited and behaviourally inadequate in social milieus. They are characterised by a history of underachievement in various areas of their life including relationships, school and socialisation.

Table 5. Characteristics of the compensatory/power reassurance rapist.

Single	Low skill occupation
Living with parents	Uses adult books and videos
Not in a sexual relationship	Voyeur
Not athletic or sporty type	Exhibitionism } Involvement in paraphilias
Quiet, passive	Fetishist
Social recluse	Transvestite

(Adapted from Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

These types of rapists are described as feeling ashamed during adolescence at their inability to fulfil the masculine image and are thought to be preoccupied by sexual fantasies. Their fantasies are made a reality through fetishes, exhibitionism and cross-dressing, and they may also collect pornographic material. The fantasies play an important role in escapism for the compensatory rapist who increasingly uses them as a coping strategy to avoid the reality of their life. The initial paraphilic fantasies develop into fantasies of rape, which in turn are ultimately acted upon. Essentially, the compensatory rapist presents a picture of a passive, quiet and socially recluse individual who has an involved fantasy life in which they seek comfort, recognition and sexual pleasure.

In contrast to the low impulse compensatory rapist who are relatively quiet, the highly impulsive power reassurance rapist is described as presenting with asocial, dyssocial or antisocial behaviour. These individuals' are preoccupied with sex and sexuality and have similar fantasies to those in the low impulse type. However, the high impulsive individual differs in that they lack behavioural controls and have not internalised social values. This coupled with a low tolerance for frustration and the unavailability of an appropriate individual to set limits and model appropriate behaviour results in compulsive type rapes, which are generally impulsive. Thus the highly impulsive compensatory rapist is driven by a compulsion to rape (though not equivalent

to an obsessive compulsive state), and when they do so it is usually impulsive and contains little no explicit planning.

All of the characteristics presented in Table 5 and described above, influence how this type of rapist commits their offence. The common elements in a rape of this type (refer Table 6), generally indicate a reserved and unsure individual attempting to form some kind of relationship with the victim. Often the offender tries to establish a pseudo-relationship with the victim and may even express concern for them, or try and contact them after the rape. This type of rapist would be most likely to experience a feeling of guilt after the offence, though they can often justify it to themselves and thus a likely to continue offending until they are apprehended.

Table 6. Common elements in compensatory/power reassurance rape

Rapes in his residential neighbourhood or close to his place of employment	Means of transportation is on foot
Belief that victim enjoys the rape	Possibility that rapist will have some sexual dysfunction (e.g., impotence)
Primary motivation of the rape is sexual, validating sense of importance	If weapons are used they are weapons of opportunity
Rapist doesn't use much profanity but wants the victim to "talk dirty".	Initially uses only enough force to control victim, but violence may increase during the rape
Victim often asked to remove own clothing, but only those body parts essential for the rape need be exposed.	Concern for victim's physical welfare, won't harm her intentionally
Victim is most likely to be of the same age group and cohort race as the offender	Possibility that offender may have later contact with victim out of concern for the impact of the rape on her
Rapes usually committed between midnight and 5am	Rapist may cover victim's face
If serial rapist, rapes will be committed every 7-15 days	Possible that he may collect souvenirs from victim or scene
Rapist is likely to continue raping until apprehended	Rapist may keep a diary or clippings describing the rapes and the names of his victims

(Adapted from Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

Exploitative/Power Assertive Rapist (Instrumental Aggression)

Described as the 'machismo rapist', the exploitative rapists are said to have no obvious psychological, behavioural, developmental or social disorders or pathology. However they are characterised by a highly narcissistic attitude and feelings of superiority over women, viewing them with disdain and contempt (refer Table 7). While some women (especially family members) may be idealised others are treated in a controlling and

disrespectful manner. Such a person is likely to socialise and befriend men with likened attitudes and beliefs (thus traditionally masculine occupations and social activities). At the core of their belief about women is that men are superior and that women should behave in a passive, powerless way. Hence, these rapists are though to commit their offences because of a sense of entitlement.

Table 7. Characteristics of a exploitative/power assertive rapist.

Majority are raised in single parent households, and a little less than a third are reported to have lived in foster homes Majority are physically abused in childhood Drop out of high school In a number of marriages or defacto relationships which did not prove very happy Sense of entitlement to rape women, because he is a man Aggression is primarily to gain control of victim	Often goes to singles bars Probably has a 'macho' occupation e.g., military, police, construction worker for example Crime record for property offences Athletic Probably has domestic problems Described as image conscious (dress, car, attitude etc.) Rape is impulsive act and is not sexually driven.

(Adapted from Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

The highly impulsive, exploitative rapist is characterised by both social and sexual disturbance and a history of impulsive and antisocial (asocial or dyssoical) behaviour, from a very young age. For the highly impulsive exploitative rapist, their lack of social skills in combination with a belief of the right to pillage and cause degradation, is most likely to contribute to the rape.

The characteristics described above result in an offender who holds no qualms about the offence that they are committing, since he is a man and it is all right for him to attack a woman if he wants to. This belief is reflected in their crimes (refer to table 8), where the rapist may make little effort to disguise themselves and are likely to openly peruse their environment for possible victims.

Table 8 also describes features of the attack such as the victim's clothes being torn, multiple sexual assaults being performed, a weapon being used and the attack itself being described as physically brutal. It is necessary at this point to clarify a distinction between the use of instrumental and expressive aggression, since a 'brutal' attack may be perceived as being expressive because of the extent of the violence involved. Essentially,

it is the primary aim of the rapist that distinguishes between the two forms of aggression. In the case of the exploitative rapist, he uses aggression and violence to get the victim to comply so that he can perform sexual activities, not because the aggression itself is his aim. Conversely, a rapist who uses expressive aggression, such as the displaced anger rapist, is also likely to execute a violent rape, but they do so, not to gain compliance, but to hurt and humiliate the victim. Thus the presence of violence does not automatically mean that it is expressive aggression, and the underlying motive needs to be determined.

Table 8. Common elements in exploitative/power assertive rape.

Frequents single bars, checking out women	Victim is likely to be subdued by being conned or overpowered
Attacks by this type of rapist are most likely to occur between 7pm and 1am	Rapist makes no attempt to conceal his identity
Anal followed by oral assault common	Sexual dysfunction (e.g., Retarded ejaculation) possible
Victim's clothes likely to have been torn by offender	Attack is physically brutal
20-25 days between serial assaults	Victim is likely to be of same age group and race as perpetrator
Often multiple assaults on the same victim (anal, vaginal, fellatio etc.).	Typically has a consenting sexual partner (girlfriend, fiancé, wife or lover)
Rape usually involves some planning and he may bring a weapon	No contact with victim after rape

(Adapted from Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

Displaced Anger (Anger Retaliation) rapist (Expressive Aggression)

In general the most noticeable feature the displaced anger rapist, is that they have an 'overwhelming' anger and negative attitude towards women (refer Table 9 for characteristics). They exhibit both aggressive and hostile behaviour towards women and have done for a long time before they actually commit the sexual assault. They are both socially competent and successful in their work and leisure activities.

They view women as threatening and dangerous and tend to have a deep hatred for them. This deep hatred and anger towards women is thought to have developed from a hatred towards early women in their lives (especially their mother) and is said to result in displaced aggression against their rape victim. They are reported most likely to be married or involved in a relationship at the time of their offending, though given their hatred and disrespect of women it is not surprising that extra-marital affairs and/or a number of partners are common.

Table 9. Characteristics of a displaced anger (anger retaliation) rapist.

Negative and hostile attitude towards women	20% reported to be adopted
Rapes likely to follow a precipitating event	Athletic and masculine self perception Likely to have an action oriented occupation
His parents are likely to be divorced	Goes to bars and night spots, and possibly has a history of extramarital affairs.
Educated to ninth grade (approximately fourth form in New Zealand)	Competent in social environments
Is married or in defacto relationship when committing offences	Friends may report that individual has a quick and violent temper
Most are physically abusive	

(Adapted from Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

The highly impulsive anger retaliation rapist has the same intense hatred for women as does a low impulsivity individual, but their behaviour is more antisocial or asocial. It is their pathological rage and attitudes about women that precipitate and sustain their action to rape.

The rage that the displaced anger rapist feels is evident in their offence behaviour (refer Table 10), which is characterised by impulsive acts, physical and verbal aggression and an over-riding desire to harm his victim. The attack on his victim is sudden and violent and the degree of aggression used is likely to increase as the attack ensues. For the displaced anger rapists, the rape is a cathartic process, so that he can vent his anger towards women in general and especially those that he feels have wronged him in some way in the past.

Table 10. Common elements in displaced anger (anger retaliation) rape.

Likely to rape close to own home	Rape is precipitated by situations in their life
Blitz attack on victim, therefore little planning	Amount of aggression escalates throughout the attack
Rape is not sexual it is a means of expressing anger.	If serial rapist, rapes are committed every 6mths to a year
Is sexually gratified by expression of anger Aggression (verbal and physical) is intended to harm victim	Offender may ejaculate into face of victim Possibility of retarded ejaculation
Any weapons used are those of opportunity (e.g., fists and feet, bars, wood, knives)	Offence may contain oral and/or anal sex Victim in same age range as offender or older
Offender rips off victim's clothing	
Uses profanities excessively	No contact with victim after rape

(Adapted from Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

Sadistic Rape (Expressive Aggression)

This type of rapist appears to be competent in all major aspects of social life (refer Table 11). They are often successful in their life endeavours and are usually physically attractive. What is beneath the visible surface however is described as being a tumultuous state of sado-masochistic fantasies (Prentky, Cohen et al., 1985). While such fantasies may initially be carried out with willing women, eventually their needs escalate to the point where they become aggressive and destructive when the sadistic rapes take place.

Table 11. Characteristics of a sadistic rapist.

Majority are raised in a single parent households, have divorced parents and be abused in childhood	Married (viewed as a 'good family man')
Homelife is considered to be sexually deviant	Some limited college education
Most are likely to be a middle class man with a white collar job	Unlikely to have an arrest record
Likely to be aggressive in everyday activities	Age likely to fall between 30-39 years
Likely to have a history of excessive masturbation, promiscuity and voyeurism	Described as having a compulsive personality (especially cleanliness and neatness)
Intelligent and puts effort into planning his rapes	Exhibits antisocial traits
	Aggression and violence are erotic and sexually arousing
	May be use alcohol or drugs, especially prior to offence

(Adapted From Holmes &Holmes, 1996)

Individuals who are sadistic rapists and also possess high impulsivity are described as being similar to those in the low impulsive subtype, however these men have experienced quite chaotic lives. The combination of sexuality and aggression is fused in their lives and is commonly expressed in every relationship. They are not easily fulfilled and are unable to develop a sound means of sexual gratification that does not involve excessive violence and aggression. Technically, he sadistic rapist can be considered in a way as being a 'true' rapist since his primary motivation for raping is for sexual gratification, even though they have to include extreme violence to actually be satisfied (refer Table 11).

Because the sadistic rapist can only achieve sexual gratification through the use of aggression and violence, it is not surprising that their offences feature elements such as bondage, handcuffs, threats or actual use of a weapon, vulgarities and excessive violence. Table 12 below, outlines the core elements that are likely to be indicated in a sadistic rape

offence. Essentially the features expressed are those of control, domination, humiliation and violence, all with the aim of obtaining sexual gratification.

Table 12. Common elements in sadistic rape.

Rapist often stalks victim	Degrading language
Uses a motor vehicle usually well maintained	Sexual dysfunction (e.g., retarded ejaculation)
After victim is initially attacked, she is often transported	Increase in violence- aggression is to inflict personal harm on victim for own gratification
Gags, bonds or handcuffs often used, perhaps blindfold	Rape kit (gloves, weapons, rope, handcuffs, bags etc.) may be owned by rapist
May tell the victim what he intends to do with and to them	Is able to learn from rape to rape, and refines his techniques
Victim's clothing is often cut with a knife that offender may have	Various time periods between rapes Victim's age varies (not necessarily related to perpetrator's)
Ritualistic elements to rape - aim is to express sexual- aggressive fantasies so the rape must be executed to a pre- devised plan for him to feel sexual gratification	Feels no remorse for crimes
	Rapist may progress from raping to murder, but murder is secondary to the rape

(Adapted From Holmes & Holmes, 1996)

A review of the validity studies for the above typologies revealed that, even though there was not always support for the proposed types, the types did capture some important taxonomic invariance (Prentky, et al., 1988). Thus, the major distinctions in the taxonomy (instrumental vs expressive aggression, sexual vs. aggressive motivation, and lifestyle impulsivity) have some discriminatory power. Essentially The typology presented above is helpful in a number of ways, primarily because it is descriptive, it considers the importance of motivation, it does not view rape as a wholly sexual crime, it has been subjected to a number of empirical investigations and refinements, and it has practical utility.

Rapist typologies have not been the only ones to be formed, as homicides have also fallen into the classification process. One such example is that of Boudouris (1974). Following the analysis of 6389 homicides in Detroit, Michigan, during the years 1926 to 1968 (Boudouris, 1970, cited in Boudouris, 1974) 12 separate classifications for homicide were identified. Each of the classifications (except 'unknown') resolved around the offender's relationship with the victim. Primarily these ranged from intimate classes such as domestic relations, love affairs and friends and acquaintances, to more distant

relationships such as criminal transactions, cultural, recreational-casual relationships and those individuals that had come into contact with the psychiatric community. While Boudouris, was thorough in his classifications, all they really did was identify a relationship, or lack of one, which may or may not have had a bearing on the actual motivation for the offence. Furthermore, identifying offenders by their relationship with the victim is only really helpful if the offender is known, or if a definitive judgement can be made. Thus, Boudouris's approach would be of little help in a profiling system. Instead, profiling approaches have relied on distinguishing between different types of homicide based on offence characteristics.

One of the most common typology differentiations is made between single, double, triple, mass, serial and spree homicides (although this latter category is not as well research or defined) (refer to Table 13). According to Douglas et al., (1986), there are four main methods used to distinguish between the different types of homicides. In particular these are, the number of victims, the number of events (occasions), the number of locations, and whether a cooling off period is present (Refer to Table 13). While the first three types presented in table 13 are self-explanatory, the classification of mass, spree and serial killings warrants further explanation. However, given the lack of consensus regarding spree killings, they will only be presented in brief.

Table 13. Different homicides by type and style.

	Type					
Style	*Single*	*Double*	*Triple*	*Mass*	*Spree*	*Serial*
Number of Victims	1	2	3	4+	2+	3+
Number of Events	1	1	1	1	1	3+
Number of Locations	1	1	1	1	2+	3+
Cool-off period	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	No	Yes

* Adapted from Douglas et al., (1986) (p.408).

Mass, spree and serial murder

Mass and Spree Killings

Mass murder has been defined by Dietz (1986) as those "offenses in which multiple victims are intentionally killed by a single offender in a single incident" (p. 479). Where a single incident is said to be a 24 hour time period, and 'multiple victims' has been described by Geberth (1986) as being four or more murders. Beyond the definition offered by Dietz (1986), he describes three separate categories of mass murder. The first

of these is classified as *Family annihilators,* and is described as usually being the senior man of the house, who is most probably suffering from depression, paranoia, intoxication or a combination of these. He usually kills each member of the family who is present, and sometimes includes pets, before either committing suicide or trying to force the police to kill him.

The second type of mass murderer is described as being a *Pseudocommando.* This individual is said to have a preoccupation with firearms and is likely to commit their killings after long deliberation or planning. He too may try and force the police to kill him. The third type of mass murderer according to Dietz (1986), is that of the *Set-and-run killers.* They are distinguished from the other types, in that they leave before their victims die. Methods of killing commonly used by set-and-run killers include bombs, poison and arson.

Holmes and Holmes (1996) suggest a further two classifications of mass murder, namely *disciple* mass killings (eg., Charles Manson, and other cult murders) and those committed by *disgruntled employees*, who murder out of revenge or in retaliation to a belief that they have been ill-treated by employers or co-workers.

While they are often considered separately, mass murders are closely related to **spree killings**. Spree killings are defined as homicides involving several victims, killed over period of hours or days, but in separate locations. However, a satisfactory definition of location has not yet been available in the literature, and in essence, how one defines a location will determine whether a murderer is considered to be a mass or a spree killer. For example if one considers Aramoana in New Zealand, to be a single location then David Gray would be classified as a mass killer. On the other hand if one considers the fact that he moved around and killed his victims in different places within Aramoana, then he would be considered a spree killer, as would Stephen Anderson at Raurimu.

Indeed, when one considers New Zealand's history, we herald a surprising number of mass murderers (Lane & Gregg, 1997, list eight at the time their book went into publishment) including: Joseph Burns, James Stack, Arthur Rottman, Henare Hona and Eric Stanley George Graham. In the last decade alone we have had David Gray, Brian Schlaepfer, David Bain and Stephen Lawrence Anderson. Two of these mass killings, Schlaepfer and Bain occurred as familicide (murder of a family by a family member).

Certainly one has to consider whether there is much value in making the arbitrary classification between mass and spree murders, given the difficulty in defining location. And as Busch and Cavanaugh (1986) suggest, perhaps spree killings would be better conceptualised as a subset of either mass or serial killing.

Serial Murder

Whether it is because they are more common, or because they instil more fear, **serial murders** have received more research and attention than any other form of homicide. In defining the essential features of serial murder, Egger (1984, cited in Lane & Gregg, 1997) presents six defining characteristics. These being that there are,

1. Two or more victims
2. No identifiable relationship between the victim and the offender
3. Murders occur at different times and there is no direct connection between them (ie., a victim is not killed because of the one before them).
4. Murders often occur at different locations
5. No material gain to be made from the murders
6. Victims have something in common with each other

However, these characteristics are quite restrictive and do not consider those serial killers that murder their victims in one location (ie., their house), such as John Wayne Gacy and Fred and Rosemary West for example. Instead, Lane and Gregg (1996) offer some slightly different characteristics of serial murder. While they agree with Egger that in serial murder in general, there is no connection between the offender and the victim they also lists five other identifiers for serial homicide, namely that,

1. Killings are repetitive (ie., Linkable) and continue to occur (either increasing or decreasing in frequency) until the offender is captured, dies or is killed.
2. Murders tend to be one on one. Although there are also some killer partnerships detailed in history (eg., Fred and rosemary west, bonnie Parker and Clyde barrow and James Wilson and Christopher Worrell).
3. The murders appear to have no obvious or clearly defined motive within the series of murders, despite the possibility of a pattern being evident.
4. There may be a degree of spatial differentiation between the murders, given the possible use of an automobile.

5. They usually feature a large degree of violence in the murder and may include the presence of 'overkill'.

In addition to identifying classification systems of serial homicide, such as those presented above, some authors state that there are different motives underlying the murders. According to Lane and Gregg (1996) different motives for serial homicide result in four main types of serial killers. The first are the *Visionaries,* those individuals who carry out their offences in response to voices, hallucinations and delusional beliefs. Herbert Mullin and David Berkowitz are two examples of serial killers who claim to have heard voices before the commission of their crimes. Though, Dietz (1986) states that serial killers are rarely psychotic, since they present as normal in everyday life.

The second type of motivation is represented in what Lane and Gregg term the *Missionaries* also known as 'clean up' killers. These individuals have taken it upon themselves to rid society of undesirable people, of whom, prostitutes are the most common type of victim. Lane and Gregg describe a third type of motivation for serial homicide, the *Power/control seekers,* who apparently murder their victims because they have a low self-esteem and hence desire to control the life and death of their victim.

Hedonists represent the fourth type of motive, and in these individuals the actual act of killing is considered to be the motivation, since it is the killing that brings them pleasure. Lane and Gregg (1996) outlines three subtypes of the Hedonist killer.

1. 'Lust murderer'. The primary motivation of the lust murderer is sexual gratification. These killers usually display a large amount of sadism in their crimes, often exhibited through mutilation, dismemberment, and sexual assault pre and post victim death. Lane and Gregg identify four phases in the development of a lust murderer. The first is *Fantasy* where the offender first develops a desire to kill in order to satisfy his intense sexual needs. Following this the offender then moves into the *hunt* phase, where they search for the 'right' victim. The third phase is the *kill* which often includes some form of preservation of the act for the offender such as removing a souvenir, taking photos or keeping a part of the body (eg., Jeffery Dahmer). The final phase is the *post-kill phase* where the offender often experiences depression and a sense of emptiness, falling into the belief that they will be forced to continue taking more lives.

2. 'Thrill killer'. As with the lust killers, the thrill murderer gains some enjoyment from the act of killing their victim, but do not do so for any sexual gratification. Instead this type of murderer kills for the thrill, experience and excitement that they gain from it.
3. 'Gain killer'. Gresswell & Hollin, (1994) describe this second type as the 'comfort-orientated' killer, but essentially they refer to the same type of motive for killing. This type of murderer kills their victim in pursuit of another goal. The aim is for the victim to be dead and the act is incidental to gaining some other satisfaction such as insurance, possessions or other monetary gains.

Problems with Typologies and Classification

While typologies and definitions are quite readily developed and applied in the profiling arena, there are some difficulties inherent in their use. In particular, typologies are usually developed focusing on perpetrators and the details of their crime (Gresswell & Hollin, 1994). Thus they are identified retrospectively. Obviously there are several logistical problems with conducting prospective research, the least of which is the vast number of variables which could be influential. While there are prospective research studies being conducted around the world (such as The Multidisciplinary Study, conducted in Dunedin, New Zealand) which may prove helpful to typologies in the future, in the meantime we are left with retrospective classifications.

Gresswell and Hollin (1994) stress that a principal danger of typologies is that assumptions are made about the perpetrators actions which are then linked to his intentions and underlying motivations. Skrapec (1996) warns against the possibility of developing generic profiles of offenders (eg., a rape profile, homicide profile etc), suggesting that it would be misleading to assume that because of similarities between types they are all the same. In profiling this has already becoming a problem, particularly in the United States. The core problem with generic profiles is that they tend to neglect the process of profiling and lose focus of the individual offender involved.

In addition, Gresswell and Hollin identify a number of shortcomings with regard to typologies in profiling. Namely, that the categories are rarely mutually exclusive, they are not exhaustive, and they are not interactionally descriptive, thus they fail to account for the dynamics between the offender and the victim. In the latter case, the authors refer

to the fact that the typologies are offender focused and do not consider the interaction between the offender and the victim and environment. They also state that they don't take into consideration that an offender's motivation may change over time.

However, even with these criticisms and cautions in mind, the purpose of classification as it relates to profiling is to be able to summarise and describe data as it relates to the offender and the offence. Classifications should only be used as a presupposition or hypothesis, related to the information and data available, and not as a definitive answer to a case. Thus, the profile can comprise of descriptive classes, it should not become a typology or classification itself.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to provide a basic outline of classifications and typologies as they relate to the profiling area. The chapter began with a brief history of classification in the forensics area and then described in detail, the classification system for rapists that was developed as a result of research at the Massachusetts treatment centre (eg., Prentky et al., 1985 and Rosenberg, et al., 1988). Following from this, explanations, definitions and features of mass, spree and serial homicides were presented. Finally problems associated with classification systems and typologies were outlined.

In sum, classification plays an important role in the profiling process, as it provides a summary of the features of an offence or an offender so that assumptions about the individual can be made. However, as with all uses of classification, a profiler needs to be aware that even with the use of a label or typology, they are still dealing with an individual. Thus, any assumptions about the characteristics of the offender which are based on the classification of either them, or their offence, should be compatible with the offence data (e.g., crime scene photos, victimology etc.).

CHAPTER FIVE
VICTIMOLOGY

"I am down on whores and I shan't quit ripping them until I do get buckled...I love my work and want to start again" (Excerpt from a letter from 'Jack the Ripper', Caputi, 1987, p.93).

For many decades now the doctrine of victimology has been developing as a method of studying the victims of crime. However to this day, the mere mention of the 'role' of the victim is enough to cause defensive reactions in the general public and academic fields alike. This is not surprising however given that victimology, has in the past referred to concepts such as 'victim-precipitated' crime (Wolfgang, 1958, cited in Fattah, 1979) and 'victim blaming' (Clark & Lewis, 1977, cited in Fattah, 1979). In fact there are many articles available that have some dramatic verse to fuel the fire against victimology. The examples below are from an article by one of the earliest proponents of victimology, Hans von Hentig (1940)...

> "If there are born criminals, it is evident that there are born victims, self-harming and self-destroying through the medium of a pliable outsider" (p. 303).

And,

> "By separating in time the fatally 'harmonizing' parties the formation of an explosive social compound can be averted. Remaining would be a potential perpetrator without a victim and a potential victim without a partner to whom he or she could turn to be victimized" (p. 309).

Previous writings had focused primarily on the offender, but von Hentig wrote about the "contribution" made by the victim in the commission of the crime. In his perspective, von Hentig insisted that victims, in some form, contributed to their victimisation. Examples given by von Hentig included the victim inciting or provoking the perpetrator or creating a situation that would ultimately lead to the crime being committed. Thus, the victim was placed into a formative role. Fattah (1991, cited in Fattah, 1994) even presented that the victim's role in the crime could be perceived as being motivational or even functional. Along similar lines to von Hentig, Freud (1961) believed that there was

a phenomenon known as 'female masochism', where females were thought to have fantasised about being rape, driven by a subconscious desire to be 'sexually overcome'.

While von Hentig was the first to write in an academic sense about victimology, the term itself was not coined until a year later in 1949 by the American Psychiatrist, Fredrick Wertham (cited in Fattah, 1994). Although Kirchhoff (1994) claims that it was Benjamin Mendelsohn in a paper presentation in 1947, who first used the term (cited in Kirchhoff, 1994)[14].

Essentially the term victimology represents an attempt to include the victim in the appraisal and development of an understanding of crime. Given its early development and the views that were expressed at the time, it is not surprising that over the last half century, victimology has received more than its fair share of criticism. Yet, while quotes such as those above may raise the hackles of many academics, the underlying emphasis of these early writings is accurate and can still be seen in the more recent literature.

Victimology attempts to explain why some people become victims while others do not. This can only be done if the characteristics, life-style and behaviour of the victim is analysed. In addition to the above there are deemed to be certain factors which act to enhance vulnerability such as age, gender, minority status, poverty and unemployment (Fattah, 1994). Explanations need to be able to clarify why a particular victim was chosen and why the victimisation occurred in the specific situation, time and place that it did. When an offence is committed, it is the offender who is at fault, not the victim, and research into victimology does not try to change this fact. However, there is research to suggest that in a large proportion of cases, the offender is influenced by the victim, in their choice of victim and how they relate to them in the crime.

Stevens (1994) conducted a study to determine what factors influenced the target selection process of 61 incarcerated predatory rapists. According to the reports of the offenders there were four primary categories into which their responses could be placed. The first, and the largest was that of *Easy Prey* which included those individual's who were perceived as being vulnerable by the offender (66%). There was a second group of offenders who reported that the selection of their victims was *random or situationally constrained* (18%). For these offenders, they appear to have made little, if any assessment of the victim, implying that any female could've been the target, although

[14] For a full and detailed portrait of the history of victimology refer to Kirchhoff (1994).

opportunity was an influencing factor. The third group (13%) represented offenders that reportedly selected their victim's based on their *attributes,* including their appearance or perhaps their job (for example, a prostitute). The final group of offenders (3%) reported that they were *not sure* as to why they selected the victim(s) that they did.

Looking in more detail at the predominate selection technique, *easy prey*, there are five main sub-classes which were identified as forming easy prey. They are as follows: young middle class females (more likely to look away or answer a question the offender asks); occupational tracking (placing the victim in a helper role such as nursing a wound or helping a child or animal); shoppers (how they walk and interact with other shoppers); and situations of vulnerability (described as a 'numbers game' by one of the participants, where opportunity plays an important role. Over-riding the easy prey selection process is the perception that the victim is vulnerable in some way, or that they would not provide much resistance to an attack.

Since these findings suggest that there is something about an individual that depicts them as being a potential victim to the offender, it is no wonder that victims play an integral role in the investigative and profiling process. In addition, there is also research to suggest that once an individual becomes a victim of a crime, they are more likely to be a victim a second time ('repeat victimisation') (Hinrichs, 1994). Unfortunately the bad connotations that early victimology has incurred is likely to mar the development of current victim profiling initiatives. It is an element of the psychological profiling process that has been neglected in the past and has only received a paucity of research to this date. However, it is undeniable that one of the most important components of a psychological profile is that which contains information about the victim (Annon, 1995; Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Taylor, 1993).

While, it is not appropriate to blame rape victim's for the actions of offenders, how the offender perceives the victim will ultimately influence their decision on whether to attack or not. Thus, those females who present as being vulnerable to the offender are more likely to be raped than those whom the offender thinks may present some resistance. Indeed, the role that victimology plays in profiling is not an emphasis on victim blaming or value judgements, but instead one of understanding the victim, so as to better understand the offender.

Rayment (1995) outlines a list of those factors that he believes to be important when gathering information victims. In particular he states that the investigator should

cover: the gender, age, interpersonal relationships (personal, professional, social and sexual), life insurance, victim's possible reactivity to being attacked, lifestyle and places frequented, daily habits, mental stability, economic status, any previous episodes of victimisation, physical handicaps, future plans, employment, normal dress/attire, mode of transportation, dating habits, sexual habits, criminal history, leisure activities, alcohol and drug use, family relationships, friends, assertiveness, reputation and any events of significance in their past. As can be seen from this list, there is a range of possible areas to cover. Holmes and Holmes (1996) provide greater detail on the ten main components that they see as being important to include in the victim profile.

- **Physical traits**

The actual physical description of the victim is important since it includes details about their age, gender, attire, hairstyle, and hair and eye colour. In several cases in the past the physical details of the victims have been an important determinant in the offender committing the offence(s). For example, serial killer Jerry Brudos selected women aged between 19 and 23 as his victims and Jeffery Dahmer, who was convicted for the murder of at least 15 people, is suspected of selecting his victims based on their facial features. In a craniometry study on six of Dahmer's victims it was determined that they had similar physical traits which were possibly influential in Dahmer's victim choice (Bennett, 1993). All six were male, black homosexual's who had similar facial morphology and at least four of them had gracile facial features. Although the sample size is small, these findings are supported somewhat by statements made by Dahmer's lawyer who reported that black men fitted Dahmer's homosexual fantasies and that the men that he met were usually pretty, boyish and effeminate (Bennett, 1993).

It can be seen then, that the physical traits of the victim may very well be important from the offenders point of view. Part of the problem with physical traits is that there has, in the past, been blame placed on the female for the way in which they look or dress. However, it is important to consider the physical attributes of the victim(s) in order to determine whether there is some characteristic, which for that particular offender is influential to the commission of the crime. While it may be construed as being disturbing for one to consider that the way an individual appears to an offender has an impact on whether they will be a victim or not, it is somewhat more distressing to accept that being a victim in a crime is a the result of a truly random event.

- Personality

Gaining an understanding of the victim's personality is often difficult, especially in a homicide case where one relies on the beliefs and opinions of others. It is often the case that following the tragedy of a rape or homicide, only positive and virtuous statements are made about a victim. While this may be true in many instances, in some it is not and the missing details are often those important in an investigation. While this may like blaming the victim, this is not the case, but it may have been the perception of the offender. Although biased or selective recall of the victim is understandable, it is often a hindrance to the investigation process.

An example of this can be seen in the murder of 15 year old Naomi Smith, September 15th in Ashley Common, England (Westwood, 1999). Her half-naked body was found in a local sportsfield with her throat cut and teeth marks on her left breast. During the initial stages of the investigation, interviews with friends and family members painted a picture of Naomi as a quiet, relatively immature, sweet, gentle and much loved teenager (Britton, 1997). According to Naomi's parents, their daughter did not and had not had a boyfriend and was sexually inexperienced. However, her closest friend revealed that Naomi had had boyfriends and although she was a virgin at the time of her death, her diary revealed detailed accounts of sexual escapades in which she was involved (Westwood, 1999). Thus, Naomi's close friend and her own writings were able to provide some insight into what the killer may have known about Naomi, and influenced his choice of victim.

- Personal demographics

Given the research presented earlier on the proximity of an offenders 'home base' to the location of their victims home (when victim is attacked in their home) knowing the neighbourhoods in the vicinity of the victim's residence may provide important information about potential suspects. In addition, considering whether the victim's neighbourhood is a high crime neighbourhood, can lead to information regarding the likelihood of specific victim targeting. If it is not a high crime neighbourhood then it is possible that the offender knew the victim or targeted them for some reason. Furthermore, risk factors to the offender should also be considered, particularly factors such as how easily they could have made an exit from the crime, how well lit the area is, and what are the roads and pathways like and where do they lead to.

- Last activities

Details about the victim's activities during the time prior to the crime should be obtained. In particular the profiler needs to try and form an idea of the victim's movements and contacts with people prior to the offence. It is important to find out travel routes that they may have taken and how, if at all, these may have differed from their normal daily activities, including any phone calls that they made or received and any meetings that they attended or missed. According to Holmes and Holmes (1996) the investigator should ask the question "did the victim do something unique before the crime that alerted someone to his or her vulnerability and availability?" (p. 187).

- Marital Status

Information needs to collected that expands beyond whether the victim was married or not. In particular it is necessary for the investigators in a homicide, rape, or even an assault to understand the state of the relationship between the victim and their spouse or partner. Furthermore it is often quite necessary to go beyond the outward appearances of the relationship as the couple may appear happy and content, the "perfect couple" to those around them. For example it is often useful to check information on life insurance policies and wills, especially any recent additions or changes to the division of an estate or sums of money. Also love interests outside of the marriage should be investigated, although investigators may discover that they meet with some reluctance.

- Personal Lifestyle

Of particular interest in the victims lifestyle are details on their daily activities, their friends and acquaintances (including those that they may have met more recently); hobbies; sports involvement; substance use; socialising activities and frequent 'hangouts' and any recent changes in their behaviour patterns or personality.

- Occupation

A victim who is employed, either in paid or volunteer positions, has an expanded network of friends and acquaintances. According to Holmes and Holmes (1996) each of these relationships should be examined and the link between the individual and the victim should be defined and understood in detail. While this is a thorough and informative

approach, it is also often impractical, often because of the vast number of relationships that any one individual can have.

- Psychosexual history

Examining the victim's sexual history may provide important details to aid the investigation, particularly in the case of a sexual assault, rape or sexual homicide. In particular details about the victim's dating history, sexual practices when dating (e.g., reputation for sex on the first date, oral sex, masturbation, bondage, ménage trois and autoerotica) can all be informative.

- Education

In examining the victim's education it is necessary not only to develop an idea about how they faired academically, but also the different schools that they attended and their reason for doing so (e.g., shifting cities, expulsion, peer difficulties). If the victim was currently attending, or had in the recent past attended, a university then the people in classes that he or she took should be reviewed for the possibility of potential or already existing suspects (again this is a thorough process but may also prove cumbersome). An educational history of the victim may be particularly helpful in those instances where there is an indication that there was some degree of planning or stalking, or reason to believe that the offender knew the victim (e.g., perhaps gaining entry into the house without force or staging the crime scene).

- Medical history

Different types of medical information can play a role in an investigation for different reasons. For example, in considering the possibility of a homicide versus suicide, the profiler should explore the possibility of a serious medical or psychological condition, which may have affected the on the victim prior to death. Dental records may also be important, especially if the victim is decomposed and identification is not possible.

Summary

Victim profiling is a way of identifying a victim's characteristics, sociability, education, demographics, lifestyle, occupation, relationships and their role in the crime scene. Gathering information on the victim does not aim to detract from the importance of the

offender, however, it does operate from the assumption that given one motivated offender, it is unlikely that every person will be equally desirable, convenient or available to them (Gottfredson, 1981). The primary aim of victim profiling is to be able to identify aspects of the victim which may have been influential in the offender's victim targeting process, whether it is something about them physically or where they live.

Ultimately the victim acts as the link between the offender and the offence, so can provide a lot of information that can prove to be helpful in his apprehension. However, while it is true that knowledge about the victim can provide important details about the offender, it is vital that the role of the victim in the profiling process be handled diplomatically. This is especially the case, if the future of victimology is to avoid many of the negative perceptions that have been associated with it in the past.

PART TWO

CHAPTER SIX
A METATHEORETICAL MODEL OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILING

Part one of this thesis presented a range of information from the literature on psychological profiling. Across the five chapters, definitions, principles, approaches and components of profiling were all explained. While the information about profiling in general was intended to provide a knowledge base on profiling, the descriptions of the three main approaches to profiling were intended to highlight the fact that the domain of profiling is a segregated area. The differences between the three approaches have been summarised in Table 14.

Table 14. Basic summary of the different approaches to profiling.

Crime Scene Analysis (the FBI e.g., Robert Ressler, John Douglas, and Roy Hazelwood)	**Investigative Psychology** (e.g., David Canter, Kim Rossmo and Rupert Heritage)	**Clinical Consultancy** (Diagnostic Evaluations) (e.g., Paul Britton, Richard Badcock and Julian Boon)
Heuristic based profiles that are developed through the use of statistics, the behavioural sciences and computer databases.	Nomothetic profiles based on scientific investigation into psychology and empiricism. Incorporates the use of geographical profiling and circle theory.	Idiographic profiles that emphasise psychopathology and personality. Profiles are considered to be developed through the use of theory and Clinical experience.

(Adapted from Wilson, Lincoln & Kocsis, 1997)

If one were to summarise the table even further the approaches could be described as being statistical (FBI), scientific (Canter and colleagues) and clinical (Britton and colleagues). These differences occur in the profiling process and the emphasis that is placed on particular components. While it is easier to identify the crime scene (including the organised/ disorganised dichotomy) and geographical profiling as the prominent aspects the FBI and Investigative Psychology approaches respectively, it is more difficult in the case of Clinical methods. One of the most obvious reasons for this is the relative lack of published research on profiling by those working in the clinical domain. But in essence the approaches of Britton and others appear to be individually focused and emphasise offender personality research and theory and the use of clinical experience with offender and non-offender populations.

The variety of approaches and methods to profiling has meant that there has been a segregation in the profiling area between proponents of different approaches. Even in the published literature there has been some disagreements between opposing profilers, despite the fact that each approach has proved its merit to some extent (Copson et al., 1997). What appears necessary, given the context of profiling at the moment, is an attempt to unify the core productive elements of each approach into an integrated model. The purpose of such a model would be to provide a representation of the profiling process, so that it could act as a practical framework for profiling cases. This was the task undertaken in this thesis, the result of which is presented in the sections to follow.

Development of the Model

As was indicated in part one, psychological profiling has developed over the years under a multidisciplinary influence, including clinical psychology, forensic psychiatry, social psychology, environmental psychology and cognitive psychology, and numerous legal establishments (e.g., FBI, Royal Canadian Mountain Police etc.), (Bekerian & Jackson, 1997).

Unfortunately, while each of these disciplines has had an important role to play in the development of profiling, it is also true that they have resulted in a range of frameworks and profiling techniques, leaving the term profiling to have a somewhat fragmented practical meaning. Furthermore, it is apparent that without a guiding framework, different profilers, working under different approaches would be more likely to develop different profiles for the same offender (Stevens, 1997).

The metatheoretical model of psychological profiling presented in this thesis was developed following the strategy of theory knitting (Kalmar & Sternberg, 1988, cited in Ward & Hudson, 1998). The basic idea of this approach is for researchers to integrate different theories, as opposed to creating another competing theory or model. Essentially what is required in the theory knitting process is that the best, most informative or most applicable features of opposing theories are coupled with new ideas under a new framework. The purpose of this knitting approach is to try and create a framework, which is able to account for phenomenon which previous theories could not.

An example of theory knitting in the sex offending area is that of Ward, Hudson, Marshall & Seigert (1995, cited in Ward & Hudson, 1998) who developed an attachment model to explain intimacy deficits in sex offenders. Essentially, their model was

developed to account for aspects of intimacy in sex offenders that previous attachment and social cognition theories alone, were unable to do adequately. Aspects of theories in both these areas were 'knitted' or combined together with additional theory to create a more comprehensive and explanatory model of intimacy in sex offenders (i.e., how attachment styles influence intimacy difficulties in adulthood).

In regard to the current application of the theory knitting approach, the phenomenon that are not being accounted for are the absence of general profiling framework, and the absence of a unified theory accounting for all aspects of the profiling process.

The three main approaches to profiling presented in part one (FBI, investigative profiling and clinical approaches) have been integrated and unified into the model presented below. In particular, the emphasis on data collection (crime scene information etc) and offender/offence classification has been included from the FBI approach, and the emphasis on residential location and geographical profiling has been adapted from Britain. In regard to the clinical approach to profiling, the influence of motivation has been employed in the new model. In addition, there are aspects included in this model that the other approaches do not explicitly take into consideration, in particular the use of theory, the process of regular checks on decisions and the consultation with colleagues and investigators.

While each of the three approaches has been reported as being successful at profiling attempts in the past, none appear to employ a structured framework for guidance in the profiling process, and none of them include all of the elements that the model presented here does.

The Metatheoretical model of Psychological Profiling

The model presented in this thesis contains four phases and one sub phase[15] (included in phase two) (see Figure 4). Briefly they are identified as being those of *Data Collection* (Phase one), *Behavioural reconstruction and motivation deduction* (Phase two), *Linking Serial offences* (Sub-phase two), *Classification* (Phase three) and *Profile Development* (Phase four).

[15] The term phase is used in preference to stage to emphasise the fluid nature of the model.

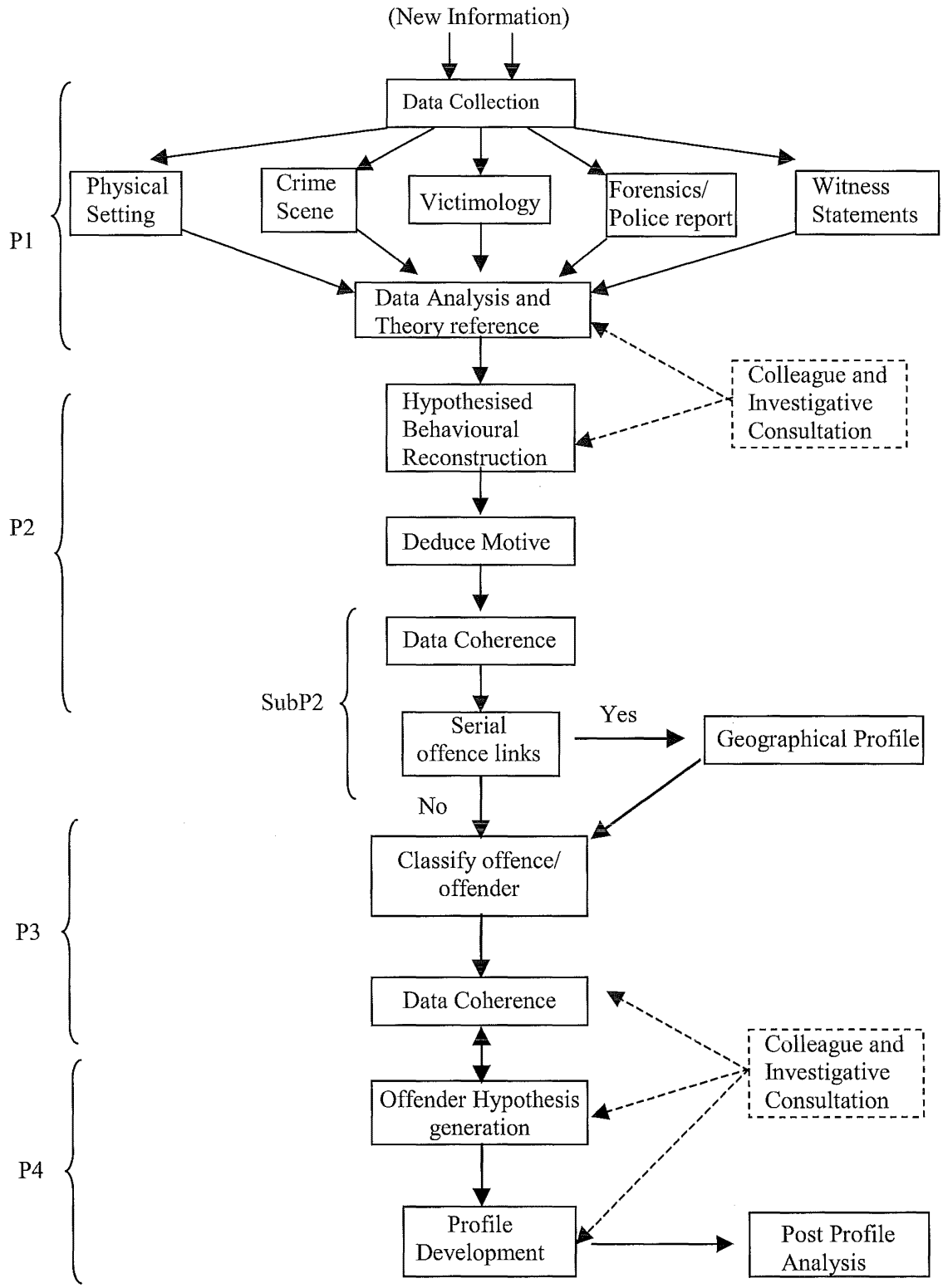

Figure 4: Metatheoretical Model of Psychological Profiling
(P1 through to P4 refers to the Phases of the model, and SubP2 refers to Sub-phase 2. Broken Lines in the model indicate recommended, but not essential steps).

Each phase in the model requires the *profiler* to make decisions regarding a particular aspect of the offence or the offender (e.g., the motive of the offender, whether the offence is the work of a serial offender etc.), and the information from these decisions then influences the decision making process in the steps that follow. For example, deciding that the primary motive (phase two) of an offender was to inflict pain and suffering on his victim before killing them, would influence the decision to classify that offender as having sadistic traits (phase three). Thus, the structure of the model is designed so that the process starts from a broad base of information (the data) which narrows down in each step, by identifying the key elements, before broadening again towards the end when the profile is written.

Each of the phases is described in more detail below, but before they are presented, there are several general features of the model that should be identified and clarified, namely theory inclusion, data cohesiveness, colleague and investigative consultation, and the models flexibility.

Theory Inclusion

As has already been suggested, there has been a lack of theoretical reasoning included in the profiling process (although it does feature to some extent in clinical approaches). Methods based on statistical probabilities or research findings often neglect theory driven research or positions, which can provide more general explanations of behaviour. The theory selection process itself, is formally and explicitly identified in the last step of phase one *(Data Analysis and Theory Selection).* It is the authors opinion that the profiling process is improved (in regards to validity) if relevant theory and statistics are considered at each of the steps. In other words, when decisions are being made in any of the phases, they should be supported by theory, literature, research and/or statistics.

There are a variety of theories and models available in the general forensic and personality domains (eg., Anderson & Kunce, 1979; Eysenck, 1996; Hollin, 1992; Levin & Stava, 1987) or personality applied to profiling (Boon, 1997), or those that deal specifically with rape, sexual assault and sexual homicide (eg., Ellis, 1991; Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Hall & Hirschman, 1991). Because of the variety and depth of the theories available, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to identify and explain all of them. Instead, later in this section (Phase one) examples of theories that have been applied in the profiling area will be presented, particularly those that have popularly been employed

in the cases of rape and sexual homicide. In addition, theoretical positions outside of the profiling process will also be mentioned. However, the purpose of the presentation on theories is to provide examples of the scope of theories that can be incorporated into profiling, and is not intended to provide a summary or evaluation of those that theories that it features.

Data Cohesiveness

While the selection of theories and models is largely the decision of the profiler, they do have to be able to justify, to a certain extent, the choice that they make. Hence, the second general feature of the model, which is the use of checks and feedback processes identified as *data cohesiveness* steps (see Figure 4)[16]. The primary purpose of each of these steps is to check decisions made by the profiler against the original data.

This step ensures that the profiling process contains a data driven component, and that there are measures taken to ensure accountability for decisions made in each of the phases. For example, in phase two the profiler is required to reconstruct the crime and infer the motive of the offender. Following that, before moving into phase three, they need to check the reconstruction against the data set to determine whether they have accounted for all of the elements. The same applies to the decision on the motive of the offender, which needs to be able to explain (in particular) the crime scene, forensic information and victimology report. If there are discrepancies between decisions and data, the profiler needs to either reconsider their portrayal of the event, or be able to explain why the discrepancy has occurred (eg., most elements fit except for a conflicting eyewitness testimony that may have already been called into question).

Consultation

A third feature of the model is the inclusion of colleague and investigative consultation, shown in two places on the right hand side of the model (between phases one and two and three and four). Notice that both the box and unidirectional arrows are represented by broken lines, which indicate that consultation is a recommended, but not a required step in the profiling process. While consultation plays a potentially important role, there will

[16] No feedback loops have been included in the pictorial representation of the model so as to avoid crowding the model. However, the nature of the data cohesion step in the model is to check decisions against the data and make alterations accordingly.

be some instances in which it may not be possible or may prove inappropriate to consult with colleagues. For example, in the case of a clinical psychologist or psychiatrist completing a profile, consultation with their colleagues would require their colleagues to have some knowledge of the forensics area and appropriate literature before they could assist in the classification of an offence or an offender. Likewise, attempting to consult with the investigating officer with regard to the probable motivating and personality factors of the offender, requires them to have acquired some knowledge of the psychological principles in the area.

Both examples illustrate the difficulty inherent in consultation within and across domains where there is no common knowledge base. Essentially then, where consultation is possible (i.e., similar knowledge bases) it is recommended that it be included in the profiling process since it pools available resources. However, where there are knowledge barriers, or other difficulties in consultation, one should consider the possible negating impact of consultation on the process on accuracy of profile development.

Flexibility of the Model

There are two final 'general' features of the model that need to be explained, since both contribute to the model's dynamic and flexible framework. The first of these features is situated at the very top of the model (see Figure 4), and is the inclusion of *new information* into the profiling process. Essentially, new information can include anything that relates to the case at hand, and may result from new forensics results, a letter from the offender, the discovery of a weapon or a new victim. New information entering the model will primarily effect the data collection process, and thereafter possibly data analysis/theory selection and any step after that, depending on the nature of the information.

When new information does eventuate, it should be incorporated into the model in its appropriate area, such as crime scene information of forensics. However, given that new information may not actually alter those decisions already made, there may be occasions when it is included in the data set and is checked for cohesiveness, but the profiling process does not begin again from the start. Thus, there is some flexibility in how the profiler approaches the inclusion od new information and where it is placed, but they have to be accountable for their decisions if there is a mismatch between the data and decisions.

The second of these dynamic features is represented in the last step of profiling process, and has been described as the *post profile analysis*[17]. Essentially the purpose of this final phase was to project some form of learning into the profiling process, whether it be from a success or from a 'back to the drawing board' experience. While it is generally easy to determine the success of a profile (assisting in offender apprehension), there are some difficulties in measuring profile failure. While it is ultimately the decision of the profiler what criteria they use to determine success/failure, all profile features that did not prove accurate or helpful should be analysed to determine why (e.g., the theory or statistics used, unsubstantiated decision making or human error). For example, considering phase four alone, the profiler might have dismissed a hypothesis about the offender as being irrelevant, when there were actually data to support its inclusion.

A good way of organising the analysis is to identify those aspects of the profile that were accurate for each of the steps in the model, from the data analysis through to the hypothesis generation. This way, it is easier to identify where in the profiling process accurate or inaccurate decisions were made. Finally, it is important to note that the post profile analysis should be completed regardless of how experienced the profiler is, since it encourages self-appraisal and learning.

Summary

Chapter six, was the introductory chapter to the metatheoretical model of psychological profiling. It began by summarising the three main approaches to profiling and the essential aspects in them that were incorporated into the present model. The next section addressed the development of the model, particularly the concept of 'theory knitting', before the actual model was presented. For the remainder of the chapter, the five additional general features of the model were explained. Briefly, these were the inclusion of an emphasis on theory and data cohesiveness and the employment of consultation with colleagues. Furthermore, two dynamic features of the model were also explained, namely the role of new information in the profiling process and the use of a post profile analysis in developing the knowledge base of the profiler and improving the accuracy of future profiles.

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[17] The inclusion of this step in the model is not imply that many profilers do not go through the process of 'learning from their mistakes', instead it is suggested that this step in the process should be explicitly included in the profiling process.

Together, the general features above were all been added into the metatheoretical model for two primary reasons. Firstly, these were all features, which are neglected in other approaches to profiling, usually because they do not appear to be considered at all, or only cursory attention is given to them. And secondly, they are considered to be important in the profiling process since they promote accountability, knowledge growth, learning and theory implementation.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE FOUR PHASES OF THE METATHERETICAL MODEL

Phase One: Data Collection

Phase one is arguably one of the most important phases in the model, since it contains the primary data upon which all decisions and assumptions are based. Although the process of collecting and analysing the data is vital, the accuracy of the data itself is also essential. Factors such as emotionality, trauma, time lapse between offence and report and environmental conditions are all factors that can effect the validity of victim and eye-witness accounts (Bekerian & Jackson, 1997)[18].

Data Collection

As can be seen in the model there are five core sets of information contained within the data collection phase, namely the physical setting, the crime scene, victimology, forensics/police reports and witness statements (chapter two contains details on what information should be collected in this phase, refer pp 13-14)[19].

Essentially in the collection phase, the aim is for the profiler to organise the available data into the appropriate areas. However, they may have the opportunity to conduct some research of their own, particularly in the case of victimology and crime scene analysis, where it is recommended that the profiler visits the scene(s) (Geberth, 1996), to try and understand the offence from both the victim and offender's point of view.

In reference to victimology reports, it is important to gain some understanding of the interaction that occurred between the offender and the victim. Of course, this process is made easier if the victim is alive. If this is the case, then the profiler should obtain details regarding the sequence of events, conversation attempts by the offender, escalations in violence, method of approach and control, threats made (verbal and/or physical), reaction to resistance and the risk status of the victim (high/low). Even if the victim is deceased, the profiler should try and find out as many of the details as possible. For example, the victim may have incurred defence wounds during the attack to indicate that she offered some resistance, which did not necessarily deter the offender.

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[18] There is a wealth of research relating to the reliability of eyewitness reports, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

[19] Geberth (1996) and Kaye (1995) both contain excellent information on forensic science and crime scene forensics which would be very helpful to be aware of when reviewing crime scene information or if working on the behavioural re-enactment.

It is important to remember that the purpose of this phase is to gather data and organise it into the appropriate areas, so that analysing the data is more organised.

Data Analysis and Theory reference

The primary purpose of this step is to analyse and examine the data collected both as individual sets of information and inter-relationally, so that the profiler can begin to test theories against the data. Unfortunately, the profiling literature gives very little insight into how one is supposed to analyse data or the guidelines that one should work under in order to analyse the data. Instead, most of the literature that has eventuated has been directed at the mass public to arouse their interest or to cynics and critics to defend the use of psychological profiling.

The model presented here suggests that the data should be analysed with two primary purposes in mind. The first is to allow the profiler to become familiar with their contents and the second is to try and answer a number of key questions so as to start thinking about the offender, especially in relation to the re-construction step of phase three. Some of the key questions that the profiler should be thinking of are, How risky was this offence for the offender? How were they able to control the victim? Did they bring a weapon with them or use one at the scene? Is there evidence of a sexual assault? What injuries did the victim sustain? Were there any post-mortem mutilations? Is anything missing from the scene or the body? How was the victim left? Questions such as these, and others, start the profiler on the track to being able to make decisions at later phases in the model. In addition they also help to bring the different sets of data together more cohesively.

While the profiler is considering the data, organising it and thinking about what they represent, they also need to be considering theoretical positions to help explain what is before them. The purpose in this phase is not to come up with definite answers, but instead begin to think about how the data and theory fit together. For example, consider the hypothetical case of a young female victim, found naked in a dense bush area of a public forest. She has been sexually assaulted pre and post-mortem and death was the result of a repeated strangulation\revive sequence. Even from these brief details, there are several areas of theory and research which need to be considered, including: organised versus disorganised offenders, sexual murderer and sadistic murderer types. The point then of theory referencing at this stage is to start thinking of the frameworks that may

apply to the data, bearing in mind that different frameworks may be needed at different stages of the profiling process (e.g., forensic science frameworks will be used more in the behavioural reconstruction step than in inferring motive).

There are a number of different frameworks to be considered when analysing data, and it is probably no surprise that there are a number of different theories within these different frameworks. Some theories, such as the organised/disorganised dichotomy, Prentky, Cohen & Seghorn (1985) and the Circle theory have already been explained in part one so will not be covered again here, though they may be referred to. Instead, some different approaches to rape and homicide will be outlined as examples, along with more general theories of criminal behaviour and particular mention will be made of theories about the influence of fantasies in criminal behaviour since they have occasionally featured in the profiling literature (eg., Lachmann & Lachmann, 1995).

Theories of Rape

Essentially, theories of rape and sexual offending have attempted to explain and provide understanding about what distinguishes "normal" sexual activities from that which constitutes rape or "morally problematic" behaviour (Burgess-Jackson, 1996). In the definition that he supplies, Burgess-Jackson (1996) suggests that rape is intercourse which has not been consented to, however this definition does not explain offences in which sexual activities other than intercourse may occur. For example, an offence may involve genital mutilation and masturbation but no sexual intercourse, or in an offence may not appear to be sexual, though the act itself was arousing to the offender. Groth and Birnbaum (1979) prefer to regard rape as "any form of forcible sexual assault, whether the assailant intends to effect intercourse or some other type of sexual act" (p. 3). What needs to be kept in mind is that the key component of rape is *lack of consent* from the victim to sexual contact or behaviour.

Most early attempts to understand the rapist saw a desire to satisfy his sexual needs as being the primary motive for him to rape. Groth and Birnbaum (1979) offered a different perspective and posited that hostility (or anger) and control (or power) were the motivations behind rape. Under this premise, the acts of exploitation and intimidation both act as avenues for which anger and power may be exerted. According to Groth and Birnbaum rape is always the result of psychological dysfunction (temporary and transient, or chronic and repetitive), and somebody they described as being emotionally weak and

insecure. Thus, they consider the belief that rapists are men who need to "sow some wild oats", or that they are just responding to pent up sexual frustration are basically myths. However, Felson & Krohn (1990, cited in Skrapec, 1996) state that some offenders (especially those who are young) *are* motivated by sexual gratification in their offences, not power or anger.

Although it might sound quite Freudian and outdated, the rapist relationship with their mother has been identified as having a significant influence in their life. In particular rapists have described their mothers as being: dominating, punitive, seductive, overprotective, controlling and sadistic (Holmes and Holmes, 1996). Fathers on the other hand, were reported to be aloof, passive, absent, distant or uninvolved, though for some rapists they were identified as being cruel and punitive (Holmes & Holmes, 1996). In general, according to Holmes and Holmes, literature in the area suggests that the early life of the rapists is often accompanied by parental rejection, domination, cruelty and seductiveness (particularly on behalf of the mother).

While Groth & Birnbaum's work and assertions are still adhered to today (eg., Prentky, Knight and colleagues), there have also been several other advances in the theoretical domain of rape. While broad, general theories such as Social Learning Theory have been applied to the sexual offenders area (Hollin, 1992), research has also advanced towards exploring narrower theoretical constructs such as *social cognition, interpersonal skills, moral reasoning, self-control and impulsivity, attachment style, offence chains, intimacy deficits, problem solving skills, attribution style and empathy deficits* (Hollin, 1992; Marshall, Hudson, Jones & Fernandez, 1995; Prentky, Knight, Lee & Cerce, 1995; Ward, Hudson, Johnston & Marshall, 1997; Ward, Hudson & Marshall, 1995; Ward, Louden, Hudson & Marshall, 1995; Winkel, 1997). Although such theories have not readily been incorporated into the profiling area, this has possibly been due to the lack of theoretical focus in past models. Certainly research as to their applicability in profiling can only add to the profiling process.

Theories of Serial Homicide

Over the years there have been numerous attempts to explain multiple murder (Leyton, 1996 outlines 12 examples). Often however, they hold little value in reference to profiling since they try and explain the aetiology of murder not descriptions of the type of people or the processes involved. Instead, for theories of murder to be of use in profiling

they need to focus on the individual characteristics and the motivation underlying their offences. The two main areas of multiple murder theory have been on mass murder and serial killers (mostly sexual killers). Mass murder theories are considered first, before serial killers.

While most people may think of a mass murder as being synonymous with a 'crazy man that goes bezerk', Levin and Fox (1985; 1996) paint a different picture. They state that crazed gunmen are more of an exception than the rule. Instead they claim that the majority of mass killings are motive based, even if it is not initially apparent. They present three clusters of factors that they believe contribute to the occurrence of mass killings. The first are predisposing factors, those that are long term and are ingrained into the personality of the individual. Two factors included in this cluster are frustration and externalisation. Levin and Fox state that the mass killer has a long, and pronounced history of frustration and a entrenched sense of failure. Both of these factors are said to help instil the chronic belief that they are worthless and that they are not able to cope, resulting in depression. Most individuals who suffer chronic depression and see themselves as worthless, turn against themselves and may even attempt (or succeed in) committing suicide. However, when frustration and failure are linked with an external attribution of blame, the individual is more likely to turn against others (Levin & Fox, 1996).

The second cluster, includes the precipitating factors which often involve a monumental loss for the individual (most commonly losing a job or the break up of a relationship), or an external trigger (e.g., models such as in the cases of Reverend Jim Jones or Charles Manson). The final cluster identified are referred to as facilitators, which determine the likelihood and extent of the violence used. The most common facilitators are considered to be the social and psychological situations of the individual and their access to weapons that are capable of mass eradication (usually firearms or poison). While none of the above factors, on their own, are likely to result in mass murder, when they occur in conjunction with one another they can be said to raise the probability of a mass homicide.

Unlike mass murderers whom people may notice as being 'odd', 'different' or a 'loner', serial killers often appear as normal upstanding citizens, successful people capable of fitting into everyday life (Carlise, 1993). Some famous examples in American history alone are Thedore (Ted) Bundy, John Wayne Gacy and Christopher Wilder. Each was

considered to be bright and well-liked, but they were also vicious killers (Carlise, 1993), taking the lives of over 65 people between them.

Hale (1993), attempts to address the internal motivations of the serial killer. In sum, what Hale proposes is that at some point, early in the killer's life they have been subjected to a humiliating experience, which they then internalise. In another article a year later (Hale, 1994), he stipulates that serial killers are 'destined' to kill, since it is the only way they can address their sense of humiliation and regain some power.

As examples of serial murderers killing out of a reaction to humiliation, Hale cites Theodore Bundy, Jerome Henry Brudos, Edward Gein and Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Bruono (the Hillside Stranglers). While these examples tend to be the most famous of cases, Hale purports that the hypothesis of early humiliation will only apply if the individual internalises it as a motive. Little explanation is given as to why some individual's may internalise humiliation and others do not, though he reports the possibility of their being a critical time period that determines whether the humiliating experience(s) is internalised or not. Furthermore, it might be a little far fetched to assume that Brudos, Gein and Bianchi experienced 'humiliation' due the 'hatred' that they felt for their mother. It is conceivable however, that Ted Bundy did indeed feel humiliated at having his girlfriend break off her engagement with him. However, it is difficult to concede that this event, on its own, was enough to start a murder career of 5 years. It is possible however, that it was a precipitating event, especially considering the likeness that Bundy's victims had to his ex-fiancée, Stephanie Brooks.

Sears (1991) paints a different picture of what contributes to the development of a serial murderer, and uses Wertham's (1937, cited in Sears, 1991) five stages of a catathymic crisis to illustrate. The first of these stages is where the individual begins experiencing an initial thinking disorder, which follow some form of precipitating circumstances. This is not a sudden development, but gradually forms over many years, beginning with childhood experiences involving deprivation and abuse, and instability. Because of their early history, the serial killer does not develop a sense of self, or self-confidence. Even with a relatively high intellectual ability, they are not able to achieve acceptance from peers or in relationships. Feelings of failure on a daily basis and high levels of stress lead to intense frustration, without the necessary skills and resources to cope. In turn, the child turns to fantasy as a means of facing his sense of failure and as a

way of denying real life[20]. The fantasies focus on him being able to gain respect, control others and be seen as important. By observing his parents and the make-up of society he quickly learns that the people that have power and are in control, are respected. While he is not able to achieve the respect that he desires in the real world, he can in his fantasies and so retreats into them more and more.

It is important to point out at this stage that Sears (1991) stresses that the fantasies are not of a delusional nature, and the individual does not hallucinate. However, he does start to feel secure in his fantasy world and it continues with him into adulthood. His fantasies serve an intricate role in him being able to experience a range of 'normal' experiences such as sexual relations, which are often coupled with the use of pornography

The desire for power and respect and the use of pornography in particular, influences the development of a distorted view of what normal sexual relationships should be. While he is able to give the appearance of being in a relationship with another person, it is only on a superficial level, and he has to satisfy himself by engaging in sexualised behaviour, while fantasising about sexual conquests. Because of the importance of control and domination in the serial killers life, violence soon becomes a central feature of their fantasies. The progression of his fantasies and his increased involvement in them leads to a blurring of the boundary separating his fantasies from reality. In general terms, Sears points out that this might result in the killer presenting a facade to the 'real' world, making himself out to be more successful and accomplished than he is. This would certainly explain how so many serial killers are able to give the appearance of integrating into society.

Stage two comes shortly after, with the serial killer realising that he must turn his fantasies into reality, thus bringing acting them out in the real world. The motivation for this is the failing satisfaction with his feigned success and feelings of self worth. He wants to feel respected and in control in reality, not just in his own mind. Indeed, research by MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood & Mills (1983), supports the assertion that behavioural rehearsal of a fantasy does not necessarily occur with the intent to commit an offence, but instead with the aim of maintaining the arousal effectiveness of their fantasies.

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[20] Fantasies may also feature in rapists, but are discussed here since they are a popular theory of serial murder.

The third stage immediately follows the second and comes with the feeling of a strong compulsion to act violently. With a build up of tension, the serial killer begins to look for a victim, preferably one who closely fits the one (or many) that featured in his fantasies. It is an exciting time for him, anticipating the gratification that will follow being able to act out his fantasy in reality. Being able to have the respect and power that he has desired for so long. When the tension reaches its peak, or becomes too great, the serial killer will attack his first victim. However, because reality is often different from fantasy, he may meet some resistance from his victim, that he had not anticipated. But, even if his first efforts do not run smoothly, he notices a drop in his feelings tension, a sense of being powerful and he feels calm. This is stage four, where the offender receives reinforcement for his actions. This calmness does not remain for long, and thus the killer is not able to gain any insight into what he has done or the underlying reasons as to why. Hence, he only focuses on the enjoyment and sense of power he achieved through his experience of violence.

While he is unlikely to have murdered his first attack victim, Sears does note that it is not long before he will. Having reached stage four and experienced the sense of calmness before it dissipated, he returns to progress through stage two, three and four quickly, and so the cycle begins again.

The theoretical approach taken by Sears, illustrates the role that sexual fantasies can play in the development of a serial murderer, but for some twenty five years, fantasies have been thought to be an important building block in the offence process, particularly in reference to sexual offending (e.g., sexual assaults and sexual homicides) (e.g., Abel & Blanchard, 1974; Brittain, 1970; MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood & Mills, 1983; Prentky, et al., 1989; Prentky & Knight, 1991; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1988; Schlesinger & Kutash, 1981; Singer, 1976; Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz, 1996).

While the outline of fantasy from Sears is representative of the majority of theories on fantasy and offending, one of the earlier writers on fantasy, Singer (1976) had a different perception of the role of fantasy in an individual's life. He considered fantasies to provide purpose in peoples lives, but also stated that the risks accompanying an underdeveloped fantasy life include such things as delinquency, and violence. So, according to Singer, well developed fantasies help prevent violence, and inhibit aggressive and impulsive behaviour, which is contrary to more recent, and prominent perspectives. While it is true that fantasies can be benign and possibly even helpful in an

individual's life, this is not usually the case where violent fantasies are concerned. Furthermore, once the inhibitory restraints preventing overt behaviour disappear or are weakened the fantasies can no longer be considered to be 'healthy'. An example of this can be seen in the quote below, a excerpt from an offender's diary before he went on a hunting spree to collect his victims.

> "Get 2 boys (6-10) and 2 girls (6-14) or boy (6) and 3 girls (6-14) and take them out to place. When I get there blindfold them, and have a good look & feel. Tie them to trees with ropes coming from behind, under armpits, around behind the neck & under other arm, and around tree. Nail a stick to the tree & tape their heads to it...Bite nipples of tits. Give each a box of licorice & tell them to eat it within 5 mins or else, for each piece they don't eat, cut a cross on their chest" (Bartholomew, Milte & Galbally, 1975, p. 150).

This offender's diary portrays an extremely active imagination and well developed fantasy world, but even Singer would have a difficult time arguing that it was *healthy*.

As both Sears and Singer suggest, fantasies have been reported to have several different functions, including statements that it serves as an escape route from the real world (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980), that it presents an outlet for anger (Deu & Edelmann, 1997) and that it helps them to regulate their lives (Lynn & Rhue, 1988). Another reference to fantasies has been to compare them to scripts and schemas (Gagon, 1990; Skrapec, 1996), where Skrapec refers to fantasies as scripts of violence much the same as Schank and Abelson (1977) would refer to a restaurant script.

While there has no literature relating script research to profiling, it certainly makes intuitive sense that their could be a dominant link between what the offender fantasises and how they structure, represent and organise the world around them and their responses to it. Furthermore, one could make a tentative move one step further and infer the possibility of a relationship between fantasies, scripts or schemas and the offender's underlying core belief system.

Despite what has been said about the role that fantasies play in the offender's development and offence process there are still many issues that remain unanswered. Some of the questions that Prentky & Knight (1991) raise concern the frequency and intensity of an individual's fantasies and how this relates to the frequency and intensity of their sexual behaviour (e.g., masturbation) and offending. These are issues that will have to be addressed in research in the future, if a fuller understanding of the role of fantasy is to eventuate.

Phase Two: Behavioural reconstruction and inferring motivation

There are two components to Phase two, the primary section (behavioural reconstruction and motive inference) and a secondary section or sub-phase, which contains a check for links to other cases and the option of forming a geographic profile. First the primary phase will be presented, followed by the sub-phase.

Behavioural Reconstruction

The Behavioural Reconstruction step is an hypothesised representation of the way the crime is believed to have happened. It develops from the data, in particular all the information that is pertinent to the actual offence (especially that of the crime scene, immediate victimology[21] and forensic information). Reconstruction is best completed at the scene of the offence and would usually yield the best results if it was done with other people involved in the investigation and the use of crime scene photos.

While it often requires acting out and role playing, the reconstruction is essentially a descriptive account of what the profiler believe happened during the offence process. One possibly way to re-create the structure and dynamics of the crime on paper is to use a flow diagram, which contains specific headings. Areas which should be covered in the headings and the description are the offenders thoughts, feelings and actions/reactions and what the victim thinks, feels and does. When considering both the offender and the victim's points of view, it is important to bear in mind that the offence is a dynamic process, so thought must be given to how they interact, how do they react to each other and what are they objectives.

The importance of the interaction between the victim and the offender can be illustrated by the *Theory of exchange (transfer)* (Gebeth, 1996), which can also help guide the descriptive account of the behavioural reconstruction. Essentially this theory is based on three main principles, the first of which is that the offender takes traces of the victim and crime scene away with him. For example if a victim is attacked on the living room floor of her home, the offender could have traces of the carpet fibre on his clothes to physically link him to the crime scene. The second principle is that the victim retains

[21] Victim information as it pertains to the offence, in the pre-offence stage (e.g., victim risk, victim movements etc.) and during the offence (talking to offender, resisting etc.). Hence it excludes information that isn't immediately relevant to the reconstruction.

traces of the offender, whether it be in the physical form of semen, blood or hair, or in a more ethereal form such as things he may have said or how much violence he used. Finally, the third principle of the theory of transfer is that the offender leaves traces of himself at the scene. Again, these can be physical such as footprints, fingerprints or a weapon or may be less tangible such as deciphering his MO.

Inferring Motive

From working with the data and representing the key elements in the reconstruction, the profiler should be able to start working towards establishing the offender's motive.

Understanding the motivation of the offender is a crucial component in identifying the characteristics of the perpetrator. For example, if someone breaks into a house, kills an occupant, sexually assaults them and then takes the $100 on the night stand, was their motive robbery, murder or sexual? Even those acts which appear to be random, have purpose at the motivational level (Rossi, 1982)

When a profiler is attempting to identify the underlying motivation and goals of an offender, it is most helpful to look in closer detail at the type of interaction between the victim and offender, any injuries suffered by the victim and any sexualised activities present in the offence (Ward, Hudson & McCormick, 1997). For example a rape that results in murder so that the offender can avoid detection presents differently than a victim who has been sexually assaulted, murdered and then mutilated. According to Groth & Brinbaum (1979) there are three main motivations for rape (anger, power, sadism), each can be summarised as follows. For the anger rapist, sexuality is a hostile act and the rapist expression of their rage, but with the power rapist, the rape acts is a conquest, domination and exertion of control over another human being, particularly a woman. Finally, both elements of power and anger become intertwine in the sadistic rape, when they are both erotic and arousing to the rapist.

In relation to sexual murder, Poldolsky (1965) reports that the type of injuries sustained in a sexual murder become important since they indicate whether it was the sexual features or the killing that was pleasurable to the offender. According to Podolsky the most frequent type of injuries in a sexually motivated offence are those of genital mutilation, then disembowelment, insertion of foreign objects into the vagina or anus, tearing out of the victim's hair and severing the breast. Furthermore, Podolsky goes on to explain that the murderer gains their sexual pleasure from acts such as "cutting, stabbing

and slashing the victim's body, ripping open her abdomen, plunging their hand into the intestines, cutting out and taking her genitals, throttling her, sucking her blood" (p. 176). While it may appear that a case with features similar to those Poldlsky outlines would seem to be sexually motivated, Skrapec (1996) complicates the picture by identifying two different kinds of sexual murderers. The first is someone who kills his victim for sexual gratification and the second type is the individual who is compelled to or desires to kill but does so in a manner that is satisfying sexually. Thus both feature a sexual component but in the former it is a primary motivation and in the latter it is secondary.

Sub-Phase 2: Linking serial offences

Once the profiler has identified a possible motivation from the reconstruction, it is then compared to the data to see if it is compatible with what the data indicate. From here, they move into sub-phase two and try and determine whether the offence they are working with is part of a series. The key means by which to do this is to identify any similarities in MO, signature, victim selection, weapons used, conversational tactics, control methods, abduction or dumping sites, or any specific symbols or indicators such as notes or emblems. However, it should be noted that unless the profiler has access to the appropriate files, it is a difficult and involved task without the use of a computer database containing offender and offence information.

With the age of technology computer programmes can offer new and expansive forms of assistance to investigative teams. The most common computer databases are those that have been developed in the United States, Canada and Britain, and they include the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VI-CAP); Central Analytical Team Collating Homicide Expertise and Management (CATCHEM); Homicide/Unidentified Body and Missing Persons (HUMP); Homicide Investigation and Tracking System (HITS) and Home Office Large Major Enquiry System (HOLMES). All of the computer systems operate a database that stores information pertaining to offender and their offences (or just offences), so that records can be kept and comparisons can be made[22].

Despite the drawbacks from manually matching case features, if a serial link is indicated then, depending on the nature and the extent of links, a **geographical profile** could be developed using the Circle theory method as it is described in Chapter three.

[22] To the authors knowledge there is no computer database of this kind available in New Zealand.

The reason that a geographical profile stems from a linkage analysis is that it requires more than one offence for it to be accurate. However, this does not mean that general assumptions about the residential location of the offender cannot be made, since there are still some general indicators as to their probable residence (refer to Table 15, in Appendix B), which then lead into options for classifying the offender in phase three.

Phase three: Classification

As has already been discussed in part one, the aim of classifying in profiling is to be able to summarise the data and to infer offender characteristics. In the model, phase three aims to provide a summary of the original data and decisions made thus far. In essence, it is theory or research based and is most likely to reflect the typologies presented in the classification chapter (e.g., organised versus disorganised; power reassurance/ anger Retaliation/Sadistic rapist). Alternatively, they might be classified in regard to their geographical location, or a physical description of the offender.

However, although the classification in phase three does not have to be of a typology, as this would depend on the data that was available. Instead, it could involve classifying the offence, such as identifying it as a rape, homicide, sexual homicide, and may even go so far as to identify traits evident in the offence. For example, in the case of a rape involving piquerism, beating, insertion of objects, verbal abuse and command activities such as fellatio, the offence could be classified as a rape (or sexual assault), with sadistic tendencies.

The primary purpose of this phase then, is to provide a summary of the data and decisions, so that a common reference can be used and so that the final phase can be focused when hypotheses are being generated and the profile is developed. Since a number of the assumptions that are made for the profile (as they are presented in Table 15, Appendix B) are based on classifications, phase three also requires that decisions on classification reflect the data.

Phase Four: Profile Development

Phase four contains three key components, offender hypothesis generation, profile development and the post profile analysis. The latter has already been addressed at the beginning of this model, so only offender hypotheses and profile development will be presented here.

Offender Hypothesis Generation

Offender hypothesis generation is the point at which hypothetical scenarios are developed about the offender, from what is known about the data, the reconstruction, the motive, serial links, geographical locations, offender/offence classification and theory. This is the second place where colleague consultation is recommended, but as was stated earlier, this may not always be practical.

Essentially this step is similar to problem solving tasks where as many alternatives as possible are generated based on the information available and consultation. Once a list of hypotheses has been generated, each one is examined against the data (which now includes previous decisions such as motive), and those that don't fit the data are removed. A brief example may help to illustrate. The case is of a young woman (26 years of age), with one child living at home (2 years old). She is discovered on her hallway floor, exposed below the waist, multiple stab wounds to her chest and a fatal stab wound to her throat. Her daughter remained asleep throughout the attack, there was no evidence of forced entry. It was established that there were no excessive wounds post-mortem, and the approximate time of attack and death was 8.30pm. Victimology reports indicate that she was outgoing and cheerful and had a number of friends. She had recently broken up with boyfriend and had a court order out against him for an assault and battery charge two months earlier.

From the information known about the case several hypotheses could be made. For example, the boyfriend could be a suspect with the difficulties that they had been having; another person, perhaps an acquaintance due to the lack of forced entry; whoever it was brought their own weapon, and may have chosen a time when they knew that her daughter would be sleeping. Each of these brief statements acts as a hypothesis about the offender. Comparing them to the data can help eliminate hypotheses that do not appear to fit the pattern. For example, in this case, further data available indicates that the victim always kept a chain on the door and would not have let her ex-boyfriend in, so he would have had difficulty gaining access to the house without forcing the door open which would most probably have resulted in a struggle, of which there was no evidence[23].

[23] The 'offender hypothesis generation' step is an important component to consider when the 'post profile analysis' is made. Particular attention should be paid as to why certain hypotheses were selected over others, particularly if it was, in hindsight, at the expensive of accuracy.

Profile Development

The hypothesis generation process helps to focus the profiling process, before final decisions are made on the most likely characteristics the offender and assumptions that can be formed from those characteristics. The profile can obtain any relevant details, those that appear most often are: demographics, physical characteristics, education intellectual functioning, family characteristics, habits and interests, sexual maturity, legal history, residential location, living circumstances, vehicle details, personality, mental disorders and interviewing techniques.

The decisions made in each of the steps lead the profiler to develop an idea of the type of offender they are most likely to be dealing with. Essentially, what is represented in the profile, are a set of assumptions in the form of hypotheses which have developed from the original data set and the application of theory. The assumptions that actually feature in the profile will largely depend on the relevant research available, Table 15 (see Appendix B) presents some assumptions which influence the development of profiles in the United States and Britain.

As was the case in the articles presented in Table 15, how the assumptions were formulated was rarely elaborated upon. Some are said to have been developed from statistics and others from experience either through contact with offenders in a apprehension or therapy role. It would certainly be valuable to establish the validity of such assumptions if they are to be implemented into profiles developed in New Zealand, particularly as they are from American, Canadian and British sources.

The information in the profile is best developed from the whole profiling process, particularly understanding the data, applying appropriate theory and validating decisions made against the data and with colleagues. Thus, the reconstruction, inference of motive, classification and hypothesis generation, in conjunction with the original data sets will all influence the final profile outlining the most probable characteristics of the offender (for a hypothetical example of the profiling process refer to Appendix C).

Summary

This chapter has presented the four phases of the psychological profiling process as they are represented in the metatheoretical model. The first phase is that of *data collection,* which involves gathering offence and offender related information and sorting the data into five main categories (physical setting, crime scene, victimology, forensics/police

reports and witness statements). Following the categorisation, the data are analysed to identify themes and patterns to help determine what appropriate theoretical positions may be applied to the case. In phase two *(behavioural reconstruction and inferred motivation)* the data are used to reconstruct the crime scene so that a behavioural description can be formulated about the offence (ie., what the offender/victim did, said, felt, thought etc). This reconstruction is used to infer the motive of the offender, which is in turn compared to the data to determine whether it has explanatory value.

Sub-phase two of the profiling process *(linking serial offences)* requires an judgement to be made regarding whether the case at hand is linked to other current or unsolved cases (usually be checking the modus operandi, signature or physical evidence such as fingerprints). At this stage a decision is made as to whether a geographical profile would be useful or not (ie., this usually depends on the number of crime linked to an offender). Even if no geographical profile is competed, assumptions about the residential location can be made.

The third phase *(classification)* involves classifying the offence and the offender, a decision which is made based on primarily what is known about the data, the reconstruction and their motive. Once a classification decision has been made it is compared to the data to check for cohesiveness, before moving into phase four. The final phase of the profiling process *(profile development)* entails three core steps. The first is offender hypothesis generation which encourages the profiler to start integrating all that they know about the offender, offence and victim and compare it to theories so that assumptions can be formulated. The hypotheses and assumptions then directly influence the second step in phase four, that of profile development. The final step of the profiling process is the post profile analysis, which requires the profiler to assess the accuracy of their profile, and learning from any of the mistakes that they may have made during any phase of the model.

In sum then, it is important to remember that while each phase is presented separately, they all flow from one into another, in a fluid process. Furthermore each phase relies on the original data in the case and the selection and application of theory.

CHAPTER EIGHT
EVALUATION OF THE MODEL AND CONCLUSIONS

Evaluation of the Metatheoretical model of Psychological Profiling

The preceding two chapters have outlined the development, features and phases of the metatheoretical model. It has been presented in this thesis as a theoretical model of the profiling process, and it represents a unification of different approaches to profiling which have previously been segregated both in the literature and practical arena. Furthermore, the model was developed to include aspects believed to be important in the profiling process, which had been neglected in other approaches.

The model as it is presented in this thesis has received no empirical research to date[24]. And, although experimental testing is considered to be a vital ingredient in the future, empirical research is not the only method available for examining the model's utility. In particular, Howard (1985) recommends that the adequacy of new models and theories be evaluated by judging how they compare to a variety of *epistemic values*. According to Howard, the five core values used in judging theory are *predictive accuracy, internal coherence, external consistency, unifying power and fertility.* Each value is examined below, in relation to the metatheoretical model,

The first value, predictive accuracy, refers to a theory's ability to be able to predict its outcome or product accurately. Although, Howard does state that in the early stages of a theory progression and development, some degree of inaccuracy should be tolerated. Certainly past approaches to profiling have been shown to be accurate, though it is not exactly certain as to what extent (Copson et al., 1997). And, in comparison the present model was designed to be, more accurate, particularly since it offers a guidance framework and an emphasis on accountability and feedback. However, while in principle the model was intended to have predictive accuracy, experimental research will ultimately determine whether this has been the case or not.

Internal coherence represents the second value depicted by Howard, and essentially suggests that a theory should appear to be logical in its formation. In relation to the metatheoretical model, its degree of internal coherence is represented in the order of the steps and phases it contains. Thus, each of the steps in the model is placed in the

[24] Primarily because of the difficulty the author would have had in obtaining the necessary details regarding case information (eg., crime scene photos, police reports, forensic reports etc).

position that it is because it follows logically from the step that precedes it and flows into the step that follows. For example, there would be little sense in leaving the behavioural reconstruction until phase four given that the information that can be gained from it would be needed in earlier steps such as inferring motive or classifying the offender. Likewise, a profiler would have difficulty if he were asked to produce hypotheses about the offender as early as phase one, instead it is more logical to gather as much information as possible before making assumptions. Hence, in regard to internal coherence, the model does appear to be logical and consistent in its formation and presentation.

The third value inherent in a good theory is that of *external consistency*, which focuses on whether a theory is representative and consistent with other theories in the area (Howard, 1985). In regard to the metatheoretical model, for external consistency to apply the model would have to be consistent with other approaches already in existence. Since the model represents an integration of the other approaches in the area it is conceivable, that it is indeed also consistent with them. However, beyond the integration of the essential features of these approaches, the additions made to the current model may be inconsistent with the foundations that underlie them. For example, the emphasis on theory and data cohesiveness in the current model may not be consistent with FBI approach, given their heavy reliance on statistics and personal experience. Hence, while the current model may not be entirely consistent with other individual profiling approaches, it would be inaccurate and premature to say that it is inconsistent with the profiling area as a whole. Furthermore, one should bear in mind that the model was based on the integration of individual approaches, which have previously been segregated because of their differences, so it may be difficult to achieve full external consistency.

A theories ability to achieve *unifying power* is the fourth value outlined by Howard (1985). Unifying power, in a theory, suggests that it has been able to join hitherto incongruent areas of knowledge. If one considers incongruent areas to be those from different domains, such as law and psychology, then the current model would probably not contain unifying power. On the other hand, if one considers each of the three main approaches to profiling (FBI, Investigative and Clinical) to represent different areas of knowledge, then this model not only has unifying power, it was developed with this as one of its primary goals.

The final criterion for theory evaluation is the value of *fertility*. In reference to the current model, fertility would imply that it provides the profiler with a means by which to develop their resources and expand their knowledge base. While it can be argued that this value is inherent in the model (e.g., feedback and post profiling learning opportunities), it is also the case that the true knowledge expansion opportunities are dependent on the involvement of the profiler. In other words, the model's framework provides guidelines and means by which the profiler can enhance themselves, but it is ultimately their decision as to whether they do so or not. However, given that Howard's criteria for the fertility value is that the theory provide the opportunity for expansion of knowledge, it is the authors opinion that the metatheoretical model is capable of fulfilling such a task doing just that.

Beyond the theory evaluation criteria of Howard (1985), there are some broader comments to be made in regards to the value and appropriateness of the model presented in this thesis. Firstly, while areas of the model may appear to be ambiguous (such as the theory selection process), it is necessary to bear in mind that there purpose is to be used in guidance not as a prescription. In other words, since there is no one theory that can easily be applied to all offence areas, the theory selection process is going to largely depend on the meaning applied to the original data. Thus for the model to be generalisable to a variety of crimes, it needed to be constructed as a flexible framework, not as a prescriptive archetype.

Conclusions on Profiling and the Model

The present thesis was divided into two parts, the first of which presented a review of the literature relating to profiling. The first chapter provided explanations about the definition and function of profiling and outlined its history and development. This first chapter also discussed the assumptions underlying profiling and the role of offence features such as modus operandi, signature and staging. Chapter two described the profiling approach of the FBI including the steps involved in generating a profile and the details that they include. This chapter also outlined one of the main features of FBI profiling, the classification of crime scenes and offenders as either organised or disorganised.

Together the chapters in part one contributed to setting the stage for part two of the thesis, which introduced a metatheoretical model of psychological profiling. The

main reason for developing the model was to attempt to integrate the essential elements of the FBI, Investigative psychology and Clinical psychology, with new features that the author believed were necessary but absent from previous approaches. In particular, the model includes both a data driven and theory driven emphasis, and contains accountability measures so that a profiler needs to be able to justify their decisions and assumptions. Furthermore, it encourages the profiler to consult with colleagues, both in an attempt to pool resources and to try and limit subjective biases. The model itself is a guide or framework for the profiling process, and as it needs to be dynamic and fluid, the principles of the model encourage feedback to promote the learning process.

Evaluation of the model using Howard's (1985) epistemological values, revealed that the model can be considered to be internally coherent, externally consistent and to have unifying power and fertility. However, there was one value that the model had difficulty substantiating, namely predictive accuracy. Primarily, the problem with predictive accuracy is one that has affected the profiling area as a whole. However, it is hoped that future empirical research will shed more light on the practical utility and ultimately the predictive accuracy of the model.

The future for profiling looks set to continue, even if it is unsure at this stage where exactly it is going to end up. While multidisciplinary input is often regarded as being a positive contributor, when it comes to profiling the different approaches and different stances have only hindered its potential for development. It is hoped that by moving away from diversification and towards integration and unification, this thesis avoids the stagnation that currently characterises the profiling area. With all of the good, bad and misguided representations of profiling in the media lately, people involved in the area can no longer sit back and wait for bad press to pass by, because the future of profiling will pass by with it. Research into offender and non-offending populations, model developments, theories and assumptions all need to move to the forefront of the profiling domain. Future development in the profiling area requires the integrative efforts of the police, psychologists, psychiatrists, behaviourists, and clinicians, rather than the individual and detached approaches that have developed thus far.

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APPENDIX A

Definitions of the rape characteristics outlined in Canter and Heritage (1989).

1. Confidence Approach (style of approach, and any ploys used)
2. Surprise Attack (if forced used, control of victim, threat)
3. Blitz Attack (sudden immediate use of violence, incapacitation of the victim)
4. Blindfold (at any time during the attack interfering with the victim's ability to see)
5. Binding (articles used to disable victim – does not include the partial stripping of victim or temporary manual control)
6. Gagging (preventing noise from victim)
7. Reaction (1) Deter/change (how offender copes with/reacts to the victims resistance)
8. Reaction (2) No difference (offender not changing action in reaction to victims resistance)
9. Language (1) Compliments (what is said to victim in non-violent context)
10. Language (2) Inquisitive (questions asked of the victim, of a non-sexual nature eg., about victim's lifestyle, friends)
11. Language (3) Impersonal (focus on impersonal/instructional aspects of relationship)
12. Language (4) Demeaning/insulting (non-violent language including profanities directed at the victim or women in general)
13. Victim Clothing Disturbed (removal of clothing by the offender, or instruction by the offender to the victim for them to remove their clothing)
14. Victim Clothing Cut/Torn (offender using violent style in removal of victim's clothing)
15. Control Weapon (displaying a weapon as a means of controlling the victim)
16. Demand Goods (demanding from victim money or goods)
17. Victim participation Verbal (requiring the victim to say certain words or phrases)
18. Victim participation Acts (offender requiring physical participation from the victim)
19. Disguise (offenders wearing any form of disguise)
20. Implied Knowledge (offender implies knowledge of or about the victim)
21. Threat...No report (verbalised threat warning victim not to tell of the incident)
22. Stealing (those offenders who steal and those who do not)
23. Identifies Victim (offender attempting to obtain details from the victim about their identity)
24. Violence (1) Control (violence, beyond necessary force such as punching or kicking)
25. Violence (2) Not Control (use of excessive violence, not necessarily for resistance purposes)
26. Violence (3) Verbal (use of intimidating language, threats to kill or maim)
27. Vaginal Penetration (either achieved or attempted)
28. Fellatio (1) (forced oral penetration of the victim – attempted or carried out)
29. Fellatio (2) In sequence (where fellatio occurs as part of a sequence of sexual acts)
30. Cunnilingus (offender penetrating the victims genitalia with the use of his mouth)
31. Anal penetration (penetration by male organ only into the victim's anus)
32. Anal Penetration sequence (anal assault in sequence with other sexual acts)
33. Apologetic (any specific apologetic language used by offender to victim)

APPENDIX B
Assumptions about Offenders

Table 15. Assumptions about offenders from a variety of literature sources[25].

Assumption	Source
- Blitz attack is not usually premeditated, and indicates an individual who is not very confidence in his ability to interact with women.	Hazelwood & Burgess, (1987).
- Stranger rapists are more likely to be, young (under the age of 30), lower socio-economic backgrounds, minority group members, victims are often of the same race as the perpetrator[26], history of trouble with women both personally and sexually, rapists are most often unarmed (1 in 4 use a weapon - usually knife or sharp instrument) - Most stranger rapes are planned or have some forethought - One in three stranger rapists has a record for a violent offence, 25% for rape	Holmes and Holmes (1996),
- Older sex offenders are more likely to have antecedents which are sexual crimes. - In general younger offenders are less likely to have priors. - Expressive violence during the commission of a rape, indicates that offender is more likely to have antecedents for violence. - Indoor rapes have a strong link to an antecedent of Breaking & Entering and Burglary	(van den Eshof, de Kleuver & Ho Tham, in press, cited in Jackson, van den Eshof & de Kleuver, 1997)
- Theft from victim but no departure precautions indicates rapist is more likely to have past drug related offences. - Mentioning the police during offence, 4x more likely to have been in custody, 5.5x more likely to have a previous conviction and 2.5x more likely to have a conviction for violence. - Theft from victim rapist 4x more likely to have a prior conviction for burglary. - Forced entry 5x more likely to have a prior conviction for burglary. - Use of physical violence indicated rapist 3x more likely to have a conviction history for violence. - One off sexual offender indicated by absence of fingerprint and departure precautions, forced entry or confidence approach and use of alcohol.	Davies (1997)

[25] The majority of these assumptions are from FBI literature. While some, or all, may be valid, caution is warranted before applying them to a case without any comparative research. However, there presence here serves as an illustration, especially given the lack of alternative research.

[26] The ethnicity assumption (offenders select victims of the same ethnicity as them) has been supported in the US, but contradictory results have been found in Britain.

- Precautions taken to prevent identification or arrest: fingerprints, semen destruction (or not leaving any behind), visible identification precautions (e.g., covering face, blindfolding victims eyes), verbal misleading (lying about name, race, residence etc.), departure precautions. - - Behaviours indicating prior criminal experience: making a verbal reference to the police or legal process, stealing from the victim or informing them that he intended to do so and breaking and entering the victims house prior to the sexual assault.	Davies (1997)
- Murderers who dump the body, are more likely to live closer to the dump site than the place of abduction.	Maurice Godwin (cited in Crandon, 1996)
- Mass murderer profile stereotype is as a white, middle aged or approaching, long-time loner, unsuccessful in relationships, lacks social skills, obsessed with power and machoism (eg., military, working out, martial arts), firearm preoccupation, external attributions.	Lane and Gregg (1997)
- Offenders often return to the scene of the crime: either to seek forgiveness or because they are excited by what they have done. An example is David Berkowitz who used to return to places where he had been successful in the past and would roll around on the ground re-living the experience. - Most offenders have backgrounds of abuse, broken/dysfunctional homes, the 'homicide triad' at a young age (enuresis, starting fires and cruelty to animals) (often 2 of 3 if not all three) - Belief that they have been forced to be victims much of their lives (manipulated, used, dominated and controlled by other people) - Serial rapists are often 'police buffs' and may have failed at previous attempts to join the force, military or security guard job - Mutilation and dismemberment prior to the victim's death, suggests a sexual sadist, who enjoyed making his victim suffer. - Mutilation and dismemberment post-mortem, implies that the individual is wanting to delay the bodies identification or that it is part of a fetishism and intricate to the fantasy (such as mutilating the sexual orifices, or taking a trophy from the body). - Rape of an older woman suggests a young offender, someone who is sexually inexperienced and not very confident. They wouldn't attack a younger stronger woman because they would feel too intimidated. Probably knows the victim. - Number of stab wounds/shots indicate the degree of anger that the perpetrator feels.	(Douglas and Olshaker, 1997)

- Disabilities (eg speech impediment) are indicated by: choice of secluded locations, non-confidence approaches, indicating a condition that he felt awkward or ashamed about. - Crime of opportunity- no weapons brought to the scene, knows area. - Sexual crimes usually offender of the same general age as the victim - Unusual to have sexual crimes crossing racial boundaries - No vaginal penetration with penis, but sexual mutilation and masturbation indicates a sexually immature/inadequate individual. - Sexual activity post mortem suggests that the offender has difficulty maintaining relationships. - Posing of victim in degrading or exposed way implies little remorse for crime. - Compulsiveness in crime is indicated by neatness or positioning of artefacts around or on the body (eg., calmness in chaos). - Bodily mutilation is a sign of disorganised personality but vaginal ejaculation indicates an organised personality. - Facial trauma (particularly if it is severe) indicates that the offender knew the victim well. - Anger and depersonalisation through facial, breast and genital mutilation - Dumping a body in a trash pile or dump site indicates that the individual has a menial job, one in which he is involved in dirt and grime. - If body found on ground, look for debris on victims back, if none it may indicate that she was raped in a vehicle. - If body is found in a remote area then it indicates that the offender knew the area well and that he wouldn't be disturbed there. - Abduction scene if public indicates that the crime may be one of opportunity, since if someone was to come along there would be a high possibility that he would be recognised. - Covering up face indicates that offender doesn't feel very good about the crime, but this doesn't mean he always will, may soon begin to justify it. - Orderly, compulsive type people generally prefer darker coloured cars, which they keep functional and well maintained. - The offender sometimes gives souvenirs taken from the victim (especially jewellery) to their wife or girlfriend. It is often exciting for them to see it worn by partner.	(Douglas and Olshaker, 1997)

- Radical change (or a subtle but significant one) in the behaviour of a spouse or partner (e.g., calmer, friendlier) can mean that they have already come to terms and begun to accept that change is inevitable. In this case the partner's pre-offence behaviour is a form of staging. The profiler needs to talk to a variety of people and gain an understanding of the dynamics of the victims relationship with their partner and any changes that may have happened in that relationship. - Planning of a crime is often indicated by the inclusion of a kit (as in a rape or homicide) or the offender taking their own weapon or binding material.	(Douglas and Olshaker, 1997)
- Indications that an offender has had a prior relationship with a woman: older offender, variety of sexual activity, conversations with the victim. - Preparation and planning in a crime indicate that the offender is not likely to be in labouring work - Exploitative style indicates offender is unlikely to work in service area and probably has a poor work record. - A confident approach style indicates and offender who is comfortable about being in control of women. - Sexual offences are usually committed by people who are older. Serial Rape: Late teens, early twenties; Murder (strangers): twenty three or twenty four years, an elderly homicide is most likely to be able to be committed by someone in their late teens, early twenties; Threatening letters (blackmail and extortion): older, probably in their early to mid thirties	Canter (1994)
- Sexual offenders often have a sexual dysfunction (erection or ejaculation problems) - Violent pornography often used by sexual offenders, particularly rapists - An organised criminal is more likely to be methodical, plan their crimes more and have a higher IQ (compared to a frenzied or chaotic scene) - Repeat offenders would be indicated by a degree of organisation and refined techniques - Indoor rapists often have histories of burglary or peeping Tom charges, while outdoor rapists often show histories of flashing and public masturbation.	Britton, (1997)
- Younger offenders tend to take more risks in their offences and appear more unaware of the consequences of getting caught than older, more experienced offenders. - Removal of body parts may reflect the offender wanting to take a trophy, or as a means of delaying identification, or so the offender could complete a component of his fantasy, cannibalism.	Swindells, (1994)

- After a premeditated murder, offender is likely to bury victim in a predetermined place - If victim's body is transported in a car, then the drive usually lasts between 30 and 45 minutes (presumably this depends on the terrain and the surrounding area) - Body dumping sites are usually on the left hand side of the road - Terrain at dumpsite is likely to be flat or downhill - Body is unlikely to be more than 50 meters from the side of the road	Swindells, (1994)
- Low aggression in rape offence - possibly psychopath or antisocial personality disorder, and likely to have paraphilic and fetish interests - High aggression in rape offence - offender usually thought to have sadistic tendencies	(Prentky & Knight, 1991)
- Blitz style of attack usually indicates a younger offender (teens to early twenties) - Brutal facial attack: indicates that offender knew the victim, the greater the violence, the more closely they were acquainted. - Slower more methodical murder: sadistic personality (late 20s or 30s). - Own weapon brought to scene: organised, stalker, travelled to crime probably by car. - Using weapon at the scene: disorganised, more impulsive, travelled by foot and probably lives close to the scene) - When organisation and planning feature in a crime, it is more likely to be a prospective serial offender, and serial offenders are more likely to be driven to commit offences by their fantasies.	(Porter, 1983)
- Post-mortem mutilation indicates an individual who has difficulty in sexual relations, unless it is to an unrejecting, dead person. - The modus operandi is individual and will reflect the offenders degree of criminal sophistication	(Skrapec, 1996).
- Mutilation of body after death indicative of someone trying to gain control over victim and suggests sexual abuse in childhood.	Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, Douglass, McCormick, (1986)
- Sexual murderer described as bright to superior intellectual range, appears to have normal relationships but will have intimacy problems, perverse sexuality and paraphilic behaviours, may use disguises, impersonations and devices to manipulate their environment.	Leibert (1985)

APPENDIX C
A HYPOTHETICAL CASE EXAMPLE OF THE PROFILING PROCESS

Presented below is a hypothetical example of the profiling process as it would occur in the metatheoretical model. The purpose of the example is to provide the reader with an idea about how a progression through the profiling process might occur. Hence, a real case would be expected to contain more information than what has been included here. The example begins with phase one, after data have been organised into their appropriate categories. The information in each data set is considered in turn below.

Phase one

The case is of a 28 year old Caucasian female found naked and deceased by a jogger amongst the sand dunes on a public beach.

Data Collection

Physical Setting

The area in which the body was found can be described as a sand dune area of a public beach which presents as both private and accessible (via a sandy roadway running parallel with the beach). The area is frequented by joggers and people exercising their dogs, but is not considered to be a good swimming area. The place where the body was found was visible from the top of a nearby sand dune and the running track adjacent to it, but not from the roadside.

Crime Scene

Crime scene photos show the victim on her back with her ankles tied together and attached to a rope around her wrists and neck. Her thighs are spread apart exposing her genitalia and she has been positioned so that she faced the walking track. The area immediately surrounding the victim is relatively undisturbed, there is no sign of a struggle and little evidence of movement around the body. There are no footprints visible but the route the offender appears to have taken is outlined by scuff marks to and from the track in the sand.

A search of the perimeter of the area did not recover any form of weapon but revealed faint tyre tracks on the roadside adjacent to the beach, approximately 10 meters

from where the body was found. The tracks do not proceed past the crime scene and appear to double back. Inspection of the roadside did not reveal any weapons but does indicate that the road is too narrow to be able to execute a u-turn unless the vehicle is small. The widest area for turning is fifteen meters back from the crime scene. While evidence suggests that the tyre tracks lead to this place, there are too many tyre tracks in the area to determine if the vehicle has turned here of not.

Photographs of the body, reveal that the victim had lacerations to her breasts and buttocks, and shallow stab wounds to her abdomen. The photos also indicate that there has been bruising to the inner thighs and bleeding around the vagina and anus.

Victimology

The victim, Maria, was last seen at approximately 8.15pm on Tuesday evening after leaving her accountancy night class, and her body was discovered on the Wednesday morning at approximately 8.45am. According to her flatmate, Maria is a conscientious student who often studied at the library after class until 11 or 11.30 at night before driving home. Her car was found outside of a coffee house near the library by her flatmate who contacted the police, as she thought that it was strange that Maria had not come home the night before. Her satchel, with her accountancy notes were found in an alleyway up from her parked car, but her diary, which her flatmate said she always carried was missing.

Maria was single having broken up from her boyfriend a month earlier following a decision by her boyfriend that he was going to move away to complete his Phd in a different city. They are described as still being good friends. After conversations with three of Maria's close friends (including her ex-boyfriend and flatmate) Maria was described as being quiet and reserved but also very cheerful and obliging. Each of her friends also suggested that they thought that she would be reluctant to talk to a stranger though they also believed that she would help a stranger if she thought that they needed it.

In general, Maria worked part-time as a waitress at the coffee shop where her car was found and attended accountancy classes three nights a week. This was reported to be her basic routine for the last eight months, since she started classes. Physically, Maria was a Caucasian female weighing approximately 70kgs and standing approximately 5ft 7 inches tall. She was of average build, with brown eyes and shoulder length light brown hair. She was described as being a social drinker and smoker, mostly in the weekends but her friends and family stipulated that she was not a drug user. Maria was the oldest child

in a family of three children, her parents were still together and her family was described as being close. When asked if they could identify any changes in Maria's life in the past 3 to 6mths, her flatmate stated that she could not identify anything, and instead stated that Maria's life was quiet routine.

Forensics and Police reports

The medical examiners report indicated that Maria had died of asphyxiation by mechanical strangulation, as was indicated by abrasions around her neck, petechial haemorrhages in the inner surface of her eyelids, and several self-inflicted bite marks on the tongue. It was the medical examiners opinion that Maria had been subjected to repeated strangulation and revival (he estimated this to be some five times) as was indicated by the multiple abrasions and salvia deposits around the victim's mouth.

In regard to the wounds that Maria suffered, the report indicated that the lacerations, shallow stab wounds (piquerism) and assault to the anus and vagina had been executed pre-mortem. In particular, the cuts on her breasts and buttocks were said to be between 4 and 4.5cm long and no more than 4mm deep. Similarly, there was also a uniformity amongst the stab wounds, with the average length approximately 5mm and depth of them approximately 5mm.

There was no evidence of semen in or on the body, and the report indicated that the vaginal and anal assault were completed with a hard object approximately 5 cm in diameter. While there were no foreign hairs found on the victim the forensics report indicated that there were carpet fibres in the cuts on her buttocks. The binding used on the victim was an electrical extension cord, 3 meters in length. Fibres found in her mouth indicate that she had been gagged with some form of cotton material. In addition the forensics report stated that the tread pattern of the vehicle close to the scene was from a four wheel drive vehicle. The treads also indicated that tyres were reasonably new. The medical examiner estimated that the time of death was between 11pm and 12am, but also stated that the assault on the victim had last for at least two hours prior to death.

Witness Statements

The woman who found the body first noticed it when she was running along the track, which she did so most mornings usually sometime between 7 and 9 am. She recalls leaving for her run later than normal on this day and estimates the time that she found the

body to be approximately 8.45am. She immediately called the police and reports that she had not seen anyone in the area prior to the discovery or afterwards.

Witnesses at the coffee shop recall Maria parking her car at approximately 8.15pm and walking along the footpath towards the library. Three of the library staff, who were used to seeing Maria at night, report that they had not seen her on the night of her disappearance.

Analysis of the Data and Theory reference

There are several key features of the data which appear quite salient, these observations are made below.

- The offender spent time with the victim (estimated to be at least three hours from the time she was last seen to the time that she is believed to have died).
- Most of the time spent with the victim was used to inflict painful wounds on her body.
- He abducted her from one place (presumably between the coffee shop and the library) assaulted her somewhere else (somewhere where there is carpet) and then transported her to a dump site. Each time he has moved the victim or the body he risks being caught or noticed.
- The victim was positioned in such a manner that the first thing that would be seen by the person who found her would be her pubic area.
- The victim's diary was no where in the vicinity of her car, the abduction area or the body dump site.
- There is no evidence to suggest that the victim was suddenly, physically overcome, in a blitz style attack (eg., no bruising around the arms or neck and no wounds tot head to indicate that she may have been rendered unconscious).
- The victim has a regular routine, and although she is generally quiet and doesn't talk to strangers she is also described as having a helpful and obliging nature.

After analysing the data the decision as to what theoretical frameworks may apply indicates that, among others, those related to homicide cases including organised/disorganised offenders and sadism are possibly relevant.

Phase Two

Behavioural Reconstruction

Briefly, in conjunction with the investigating officer and forensics staff, the following behavioural sequence was formulated. It is hypothesised that the offender was waiting for the victim in a alleyway between where her car was parked and the library. When she approached him he may have been able to coax her over to him under the guise of needing help or he may have threatened her with a knife (his weapon choice in the offence) to get her into his vehicle, where he bound and gagged her. Following this it is hypothesised that he returned to either his place of residence or another location whereby he carried out the sexual assault and murder. He was slow and methodical and took great care in getting the precision of his cuts the same length. It is hypothesised that wherever he took her is either in an isolated area or has made some attempt to cover any noise that may be made by the victim as he inflicts the wounds on her.

After the cuts and stab wounds he adjusts the bindings so that they connect around her ankles and wrists and loop up around her neck. In this fashion if he extends her legs her neck is pulled back and strangulation ensues. It is while she is in this position that the offender begins his assault on her anus and vagina, inserting objects and beating her thighs and pubic area. While he is partaking in his torture ritual, it is hypothesised that he will be talking to the victim, telling her what he is doing and what he is going to do next. In the strangulation/revive sequence it is possible that he also informs the victim that her life is in his hands, and it is up to him as to whether she lives or dies. After her death, he moves her to the dump site, and positions her so that she faces the track.

Inferring Motive

The main motive that has been inferred in this case is that of sadism. The indicators that led to this decision were as follows. The presence of pre-mortem wounds, the length of time that was spent hurting the victim, the strangulation and revive sequence, the slowness of her actual death and the positioning of her body, all indicate that the offender was wanting to harm, torture and/or humiliate the victim.

Data Cohesiveness check

There is nothing in the case presented to negate the inferred motive of sadism (eg., caring for the victim, extensive post-mortem wounds).

Sub-phase Two

There was no reason to believe that this case was linked to any current or previously unsolved cases (eg., there were no cases with a similar MO, signature or dump site).

Phase Three

Classifying the offence/offender

There are features of the case that indicate an organised (refer to table 1), sadistic killer. Those that relate to sadism have been touched on above in the inferring motive step of Phase two, so those features of the organised offender as they apply to this case are addressed below.

- There is evidence of *planning* in the offence, particularly in obtaining his victim with either a 'con' approach or threatening the use of a weapon. He had a pre-selected place to assault the body, a plan to move it and a place to dump the body.
- He is in *control* of the victim and the crime scene. There is no evidence to suggest defence wounds on the victim and no signs of a struggle, so he was probably able to control her relatively easily.
- *Transportation* used in the offence.
- He used *restraints* throughout the offence, both as a means of control and as a way to inflict pain on his victim and ultimately take her life.
- It is possible that the offender already knew of the victim and perhaps knew her routine (ie., knew that she would normally be going to the library at that time of night). Thus, he could have *targeted* her.
- The lack of evidence of a weapon connected to any of the scenes.

Data Cohesiveness

Comparing the decisions and indicators made about the offender being organised and sadistic, there is nothing evident in the data to suggest that he is disorganised or that any of the aggression and violence depicted in the offence was instrumental to the commission of the homicide.

Phase Four

Offender Hypothesis Generation.

Here the hypotheses about the offender are presented. Those given have already gone through the first two stages of hypothesis generation. Thus a number of hypotheses were generated, and those that did not match the data have been dismissed. The remaining hypotheses are as follows.

- The offender's primary motivation is to inflict pain and suffering on his victim (sadistic features) and also to be able to express ultimate control over their existence (strangulation/revive sequence).
- The offender planned the offence to some extent. This was most probably done in the form of an offence fantasy (assuming that the offender is organised, and the nature of the crime is sadistic, the precision with which it was committed implies that the offender has practised the steps in his own mind) (refer to the section on fantasy for clarification).
- Although he did not know the victim he was probably aware of her routine and may have targeted her.
- He has little remorse for his offence or guilt about the victim (eg. his posing of the body).
- Offender may have compulsive traits, given the precision of the cutting and stabbing wounds made on the victim.
- The offender probably has retained the victim's diary as a souvenir.
- Probably of medium to strong build (given his ability to control victim).
- Use of pornography and bondage material likely to be a feature in their lives.

More general hypotheses or assumptions can be made about the offender based information in the literature, for example, the examples of assumptions in table 15 would indicate the following hypotheses about the offender.

- The offender lives in closer proximity to the dump site than the abduction area (Maurice Godwin, cited in Crandon, 1996).
- The offender is likely to return to the scene of the crime or where the body is disposed of (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997).
- He is likely to have a background of abuse and also a high probability of incidents in his past of inflicting pain on animals or his peers (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997).

- Probably holds the belief that he has been dominated and controlled by people in his life and this forms the basis for his fantasies (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997).
- If offender is compulsive then his vehicle is likely to be well maintained and dark in colour.
- Offender likely to have a skilled job and be of average to above average intelligence (Ressler et al., 1985).
- The offender would live within a 30-45 minute drive of the body dump site (Swindells, 1994).
- Offender more likely to be older because of the sadistic features (late 20s, early 30s) (Porter, 1983)
- High probability that offender will re-offend given the degree of organisation depicted in the crime scene (Porter, 1983).
- Offender probably same race as victim (Holmes & Holmes, 1996).
- Most likely to be either married, living with a partner or involved in a serious relationship (Ressler et al., 1985).
- Likely to have a previous offence history involving assaults and sexual offences against women, but this may be his first murder (Davies, 1997).

Profile Development[27]

According to the above hypotheses and assumptions the following profile about offender the can be developed.

Probable Offender Characteristics given the case described above

The offender is likely to be a 25 to 35 year old Caucasian male who lives with his partner or is involved in a serious relationship with a female. He is of medium to strong build and of medium height, probably strong in the upper body and may work out. Being of average to above average intelligence the offender is most probably employed in a respected position and fits into social situations well.

His childhood is most likely to feature events involving cruelty to animals, particularly actions that make them suffer. There are also likely to be aspects in his childhood which have him believing that he has been controlled and manipulated by

[27] It is important to bear in mind that the author lacks the practical experience that accompanies most profilers, so this profile is intended to give an idea of the type of information that is they should contain. It is not presented as being a complete or a true and correct profile, given that it is in a hypothetical context.

women in his life. These beliefs form the basis for the fantasies which drive his offence process and which will probably increase the likelihood that he will re-offend, especially given the lack of remorse he exhibited about the crime and his victim.

The offender owns and drives a vehicle probably a four-wheeled drive, which is most likely to be dark in colour (green or dark blue for instance). His vehicle will be well maintained and neat. In addition, his compulsive traits will be evident in his lifestyle by the clothes that he wears and how neat and orderly he maintains his environment.

It is likely that he will have an offence history involving previous convictions for assault or sexual assault against women and given his sadistic traits he is likely to have a collection of pornographic material. The likely theme of this material is in the area of degradation to women, control, humiliation, torture and bondage.

In reference to residential location, the offender is most likely to live near the dumpsite, and he will be familiar with the area. He is also familiar with the area in which he abducted his victim from and may have watched her from the street a few times before committing the offence. He also may return to the offence areas, to relive aspects of his crime and incorporate them into his fantasy.

Post Profiling Analysis

At some stage, either on the apprehension of an offender or if no suspect has been identified, the profile should be reviewed, especially if new information arises, or to determine what assumptions or decisions in the profile were accurate or inaccurate.